

THE *J. B. Roberts*
WORKS
Of the REVEREND
Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,
DEAN of *St. Patrick's*, DUBLIN.
CONTAINING,
LETTERS to Governor HUNTER.

The HISTORY of the last SESSION of PARLIAMENT,
and the PEACE of UTRECHT. Written at WINDSOR in
the Year 1713.

The CRAFTSMAN, of December 12, 1730. And the An-
swer thereto.

A TREATISE ON GOOD-MANNERS and GOOD-BREEDING.

VOLUME IX.



DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER.
M DCC LXXII.

WORKS

OF THE REV. DR.

DR. JONATHAN SWIFT,

Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

CHURCHMAN'S

LETTERS TO A MODERN

THE HISTORY OF THE LATE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT,
AND THE DEBATE ON THE PROPOSED
THE YEAR 1710.

THE CHURCHMAN'S OF DECEMBER 1710. And the
GOD BLESS THEM.

A TREATISE ON GOOD MANNERS AND GOOD PARISHES.

VOL. IX.



DUBLIN
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER
in Dublin.

T H E
H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

LAST SESSION of PARLIAMENT, and of
the PEACE of UTRECHT.

Written at WINDSOR in the Year, 1713.

By the Rev. Dr. J. SWIFT, D. S. P. D.



D U B L I N :

Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-Street,
M,DCC,LVIII.

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HISTORY

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MDCCLXXIII.

To the READER.

THE Editor having published eight Volumes of the Author's Works, hath printed this in the same Size to accommodate his former Purchasers.

THE Letters which begin this Volume would be almost unintelligible, were it not for the Notes now added to them, which were never before printed.

THE History of the last Session of Parliament, and the Peace of *Utrecht*, hath been most diligently and carefully compared with the Manuscript that was prepared and corrected by Dr. SWIFT for the Press, which was carried to *England*, in order to be published there; but for some Reasons not printed; but brought back to *Ireland* in the Year 1751, by GEORGE FAULKNER, Printer hereof, who delivered that History to the Trustees of the DEAN, who never suffered any one to transcribe, or take a single Copy of it.

THE CRAFTSMAN upon the *French* having Liberty to recruit their *Irish* Troops in *Ireland*

To the READER.

is a fine political Piece ; and will be an eternal Standard never to suffer the *French* to raise Recruits in this Kingdom, or in any other Part of the *British* Dominions. The Answer to this Piece, which is printed from the original Manuscript, that was sent to *England*, and handed about there, hath been highly approved of by Men of the greatest Wit and Taste in that Nation ; and particularly by a Nobleman, as remarkable for his Genius and Learning, as for his excellent Government during his Administration in this Kingdom.

The TREATISE on Good-Manners and Good-Breeding, hath been much admired, by all the polite People of *Europe* who have read it, as a very masterly Performance. The Verses at the End of this Volume have also been much admired.

Dublin, *April*

G. F.

19. 1758.

N. B. The 10th and 11th Volumes of this Author's Works, consisting of original Sermons and other Pieces of Divinity, Poems, &c. will speedily be put to the Press, and published with all convenient Expedition in the same Size as the Author's other Works.

The following Letters were never before
published in this Kingdom.

*A Monsieur Monsieur HUNTER, Gentilhomme
Anglois, à Paris.*

London, Jan. 12, 1708-9.

S I R, *

I KNOW no People so ill used by your Men
of Business, as their intimate Friends. About a Fortnight after Mr. ADDISON had received the Letter you were pleased to send me, he first told me of it with an Air of Recollection, and after ten further of Grace, thought fit to give it me; so you know where to fix the whole Blame that it was no sooner acknowledged. It is a delicate Expedient you Prisoners have, of diverting yourselves in an Enemy's Country, for which other Men would be hanged. I am considering whether there be no Way of disturbing your Quiet, by writing some dark Matter, that may give the *French* Court a Jealousy of you. I suppose, Monsieur CHAMILLARD, or some of his Commissaries, must have this Letter

ter

ter interpreted to them, before it cometh to your Hands; and therefore, I here think good to warn them, that if they exchange you under fix of their Lieutenant-Generals, they will be Losers by the Bargain. But that they may not mistake me, I do not mean as *Viceroy de Virginia*, *mais comme le Colonel HUNTER*. I would advise you to be very tender of your Honour, and not fall in Love; because I have a Scruple, whether you can keep your Parole, if you become a Prisoner to the Ladies; at least, it will be a Scandal for a *Free Briton* to drag two Chains at once. I presume, you have the Liberty of *Paris*, and fifty Miles round, and have a very light Pair of Fetters, contrived to ride or dance in, and see *Versailles*, and every Place else, except * *St. Germain*s.——I hear the Ladies call you already *Nôtre Prisonnier HUNTER le plus bonnête Garçon du Monde*.——Will you *French* yet own us *Britons* to be a brave People? Will they allow the Duke of MARLBOROUGH to be a great General? Or, are they all as partial as their Gazetteers? Have you yet met any *French* Colonel whom you remember to have formerly knocked from his Horse, or shivered, at least, 'a Launce against his Breast-Plate? Do you know the Wounds you have given when
you

* Then the Place of Residence of the Queen Dowager of King JAMES II. and the PRETENDER.

you see the Scars? Do you salute your old Enemies with *Stetimus tela aspera contra, contulimusque manus*. Vous sçavez que——Monsieur d' ADDISON, votre bon Ami, est fait Secrétaire d' Etat d' Irlande; and unless you make haste over, and get me my *Virginian* Bishoprick, he will persuade me to go with him, for the * *Vienna* Project is off, which is a great Disappointment to the Design I had of displaying my Politicks at the Emperor's Court. I do not like the Subject you have assigned me to entertain you with. CRAUDER is sick, to the Comfort of all quiet People, and FRAUD is *Reveur à peindre*. Mr. ADDISON and I often drink your Health, and this Day I did it with WILL PATE, a certain Adorer of yours, who is both a *Bel Esprit* and a Woollen-Draper. The Whigs carry all before them, and how far they will pursue their Victories, we under-rate Whigs can hardly tell. I have not yet observed the Tories Noses; their Number is not to be learnt by telling of Noses, for every Tory hath not a Nose.——It is a Loss you are not here to partake of three Weeks Frost, and eat Ginger-bread in a Booth by a Fire upon the *Thames*. Mrs. FLOYD looked out with both her Eyes, and we had one Day's Thaw; but she drew in her Head, and it
now

* Dr. SWIFT was to have gone Secretary to the *English* Embassy to the Imperial Court.

now freezeth as hard as ever. As for the Convocation, the Queen thought fit to prorogue it, although at the Expence of Dr. ATTERBURY's Displeasure, who was designed their Prolocutor, and is now raging at the Disappointment. I amuse myself sometimes with writing Verses to Mr. FINCH, and sometimes with Projects for uniting of Parties, which I perfect over Night, and burn in the Morning. Sometimes Mr. ADDISON and I steal to a Pint of bad Wine, and wish for no third Person but you, who, if you were with us, would never be satisfied without three more.—You know, I believe, that poor * Dr. GREGORY is dead, and † KEIL solliciteth to be his Successor; but Party reacheth even to Lines and Circles, and he will hardly carry it, being reputed a Tory, which yet he utterly denieth.—We are here nine Times madder after Operas than ever; and have got a new *Castrato* from *Italy*, called NICOLINI, who exceedeth VALENTINI, I know not how many Barrs Length. Lord SOMMERS and HALLIFAX are as busy as Statesmen can be in Parliament Time. Lord D***T is Nobody's Favourite but your's and Mr. PRIOR's, who hath lately dedicated his Book of Poems to him, which is all

* A famous Mathematician, who published some Treatises on Astronomy.

† Another great Mathematician, who also published several Works in that Science and in Anatomy.

all the Press hath furnished us, of any Value, since you went. Mr. BRINGLE, a Gentleman of *Scotland*, succeedeth Mr. ADDISON in the Secretary's Office; and Mr. SHUTE, a notable young Presbyterian Gentleman, under Thirty Years old, is made a Commissioner of the Customs. This is all I can think of, either publick or private, worth telling you; perhaps you have heard Part or All of both from other Hands, but you must be content: Pray let us know what Hopes we have of seeing you, and and how soon; and be so kind, or just, to believe me always

Your most faithful,

humble Servant,

JON. SWIFT.

P.S. Mr. STEELE presenteth his most humble Service to you; and I cannot forbear telling you of your *Mechaneté* to impute the Letter of Enthusiasm to me; when I have some good Reasons to think the Author is now at *Paris*.

A Mon-

*A Monsieur Monsieur HUNTER, Gentilhomme
Anglois à Paris.*

London, March 22, 1708-9.

SIR,

I AM very much obliged to you for the Favour of a kind Reproach you sent me, in a Letter to Mr. ADDISON, which he never told me of until this Day, and that accidentally; but I am glad at the same Time, that I did not deserve it, having sent you a long Letter, in return to that you was pleased to honour me with; and, it is a Pity it should be lost; for, as I remember, it was full of the *Diei fabulas*, and such Particularities as do not usually find Place in News-Papers. Mr. ADDISON hath been so taken up for some Months, in the amphibious Circumstances of premier C—— to my Lord SUNDERLAND, and Secretary of State for* *Ireland*, that he is the worst Man I know, either to convey an idle Letter, or deliver what he receiveth; so that I design, when I trust him with this, to give him a Memorial along with it; for, if my former hath miscarried, I am half persuaded to give him the Blame. I find you a little lament your Bondage, and indeed in your
Cafe

* Principal Secretary to the Earl of WHARTON, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

CASE it requireth a good Share of Philosophy: But if you will not be angry, I believe I may have been the Cause you are still a Prisoner, for I imagine my former Letter was intercepted by the reading one Passage in it, (and duly considering the Weight of the Person who wrote it) where I said, if the *French* King understood your Value as well as we do, he would not exchange you for Count TALLARD, and all the *Delris* of *Blenheim* together; for I must confess I did not rally when I said so.

I HEAR your good Sister, the Queen of *Pomunki*, waiteth with Impatience until you are restored to your Dominions; and that your Rogue of a Viceroy returneth Money fast for *England*, against the Time he must retire from his Government. Mean time *PHILIPS writeth Verses in a Sledge upon the frozen Sea, and transmits them hither, to thrive in our warmer Clime, under the Shelter of my Lord D* * * T. I could send you a great deal of News from the *Republica Grubstreetaria*, which was never in greater Altitude, although I have been of late but a small Contributor. A Cargo of Splinters from the *Arabian* Rocks have been lately shipwrecked in the *Thames*, to the irreparable Damage

* AMBROSE PHILIPS, Esq. See his *Lapland* and other Pastorals in his Poems.

mage of the Vertuosi. Mrs. LONG and I are fallen out, I shall not trouble you with the Cause, but do not you think her altogether in the Wrong? But Mrs. BARTER is still in my good Graces; I design to make her tell me when you are to be redeemed, and will send you Word. There it is now, you think I am in jest; but I assure you, the best Intelligence I get of publick Affairs is from Ladies, for the Ministers never tell me any thing; and Mr. ADDISON is nine Times more secret to me than any Body else, because I have the Happiness to be thought his Friend. The Company at St. *James's* Coffee-house is as bad as ever, but it is not quite so good. The Beauties you left are all gone off this Frost, and we have got a new Set for Spring, of which Mrs. CHETWIND and Mrs. WORSLEY are the principal. The Vogue of Operas holdeth up wonderfully, altho' we have had them a Year; but I design to set up a Party among the Wits, to run them down by next Winter, if true *English* Caprice, doth not interpose to save us the Labour. Mademoiselle SPANHEIM is going to marry my Lord FITZHARDING, at least I have heard so; and if you find it otherwise at your Return, the Consequences may possibly be survived; however, you may tell it the *Paris* Gazetteer, and let me have the Pleasure to read a Lye of my own sending. I suppose

pose you have heard that the Town hath lost an old Duke and recovered a mad Ducheſs.—The Duke of MARLBOROUGH hath at length found an Enemy that dareth face him, and which he will certainly fly before, with the firſt Opportunity, and we are all of Opinion it will be his wiſeſt Courſe to do ſo. Now the Way to be prodigiouſly witty would be by keeping you in Suſpence, and not letting you know that this Enemy is nothing but this North-eaſt Wind, which ſtoppeth his Voyage to *Holland*. This Letter going in Mr. ADDISON's Pacquet, will, I hope, have better Luck than the former. I ſhall go for *Ireland* ſome time in Summer, being not able to make my Friends in the Miniſtry conſider my Merits, or their Promiſes, enough to keep me here, ſo that all my Hopes now terminate in my * Biſhoprick of *Virginia*; in the mean time I hold faſt my Claim to your Promiſe of correſponding with me, and that you will henceforward addreſs your Letter for me at Mr. † STEELE's Office at the Cockpit, who

* There was a Scheme on Foot at this Time, to make Dr. SWIFT Biſhop of *Virginia*, with a Power to ordain Priests, and Deacons for all our Colonies in America, and to parcel out that Country into Deanaries, Pariſhes, Chapels, &c. and to recommend and preſent thereto, which would have been of the greateſt Uſe to the Proteſtant Religion in that Country had it taken Effect.

† Mr. STEELE, afterwards Sir RICHARD, was then Under Secretary of State.

who hath promised his Care in conveying them. Mr. DOMVIL is now at *Geneva*, and sendeth me Word he is become a Convert to the Whigs, by observing the good and ill Effects of Freedom and Slavery abroad.

I AM now with Mr. ADDISON, with whom I have fifty Times drank your Health since you left us. He is hurrying away for *Ireland*, and I am not certain whether you will hear from him or no, until he gets thither. However, he commandeth me to assure you of his humble Service, and I pray God too much Business may not spoil *Le plus bonnête Homme du Monde*; for it is certain, which of a Man's good Talents he employeth on Business, must be detracted from his Conversation. I cannot write longer in so good Company, and therefore conclude

Your most faithful,

and most humble Servant,

J. SWIFT.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LAST SESSION, &c.

I PROPOSE to give the Publick an Account of the most important Affairs at Home, during the last Session of Parliament; as well as of our Negotiations of Peace Abroad, not only during that Period, but some Time before and since. I will relate the chief Matters transacted by both Houses in that Session; and discover the Designs carried on by the Heads of a discontented Party, not only against the Ministry, but in some Manner against the Crown itself. I likewise shall state the Debts of the Nation; shew by what Mismanagement, and to serve what Purposes, they were at first contracted; by what Negligence or Corruption they have so prodigiously grown;

and what Methods have since been taken to provide, not only for their Payment, but to prevent the like Mischief for the Time to come: Although, in an Age like ours, I can expect very few impartial Readers; yet I shall strictly follow Truth; or what reasonably appeareth to be such, after the most impartial Inquiries I could make, and the best Opportunities of being informed by those, who were the principal Actors or Advisers: Neither shall I mingle Panegyrick or Satire with an History intended to inform Posterity, as well as to instruct those of the present Age, who may be ignorant or misled, since Facts, truly related, are the best Applauses, or most lasting Reproaches.

DISCOURSES upon Subjects relating to the Publick usually seem to be calculated only for *London*, and some few Miles about it; while the Authors suppose their Readers to be informed of several Particulars, to which those who live remote are for the Generality utter Strangers. Most People, who frequent this Town, acquire a Sort of a Smattering (such as it is) which qualifies them for reading a Pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by Innuendoes or Hints at Facts or Persons, or initial Letters of Names; wherein Gentlemen at Distance, although perhaps of much better Understandings,

ings, are wholly in the Dark: Wherefore, that these Memoirs may be rendered more generally intelligible and useful, it will be convenient to give the Reader a short View of the State and Disposition of Affairs, when the last Session of Parliament began: And, because the Party Leaders, who had lost their Power and Places, were, upon that Juncture, employing all their Engines in an Attempt to re-establish themselves; I shall venture one Step further, and represent so much of their Characters, as may be supposed to have influenced their Politicks.

ON the seventh Day of *December*, 1711, began the second Session of this Parliament. It was now above a Year, since the Queen had thought fit to put the great Offices of State, and of Her own Household, into other Hands. However, three of the discontented Lords were still in Possession of their Places: For, the Duke of *Marlborough* continued General; the Duke of *Somerset* Master of the Horse; and the Earl of *Cholmondely* Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household: Likewise, great Numbers of the same Party still kept Employments of Value and Importance; which had not been usual of late Years upon any Changes of Ministry. The Queen, who judged the Temper of Her People by this House of Commons, which a Landed

Interest had freely chosen, found them very desirous of a secure and honourable Peace; and disposed to leave the Management of it to Her own Wisdom, and that of Her Council. She had therefore, several Months before the Session began, sent to inform the States General of some Overtures which had been made to Her by the Enemy; and, during that Summer, Her Majesty took several farther Steps in this great Affair, until at Length, after many Difficulties, a Congress for a general Treaty at *Utrecht* was agreed upon: The whole Proceedings of which previous Negotiation between our Court and that of *France* I shall, in its proper Place, very particularly relate.

THE Nation was already upon a better Foot, with Respect to its Debts: For, the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord Treasurer, had, in the preceding Session, proposed and effected Ways and Means in the House of Commons (where he was then a Member) for providing a Parliamentary Fund, to clear the heavy Arrear of ten Millions, (whereof the greatest Part lay upon the Navy) without any new Burthen (at least after a very few Years) to the Kingdom: And, at the same Time, he took Care to prevent farther Incumbrances upon that Article, by finding ready Money for Naval Provisions; which hath saved
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the Publick somewhat more than *Cent. per Cent.* in that mighty Branch of our Expence.

THE Clergy were altogether in the Interests and the Measures of the present Ministry, which had appeared so boldly in their Defence during a Prosecution against one of their Members, where the whole sacred Order was understood to be concerned. The Zeal shewn for that most religious Bill, to settle a Fund for building Fifty Churches in and about the City of *London*, was a fresh Obligation; and they were farther highly gratified by Her Majesty's chusing * one of their Body to be a great Officer of State.

By this Time, likewise, all Disputes about those Principles, which used originally to divide Whig and Tory, were wholly dropped; and those fantastick Words ought in Justice to have been so too, provided we could have found out more convenient Names, whereby to distinguish Lovers of Peace from Lovers of War; or those who would leave Her Majesty some Degree of Freedom in the Choice of Her Ministers, from others who could not be
satisfied

* *Dr. Robinsan*, Lord Bishop of *London*, to be Lord Privy-Seal.

satisfied with Her chusing any, except such as she was averse from,

BUT, where a Nation is once divided, Interest and Animosity will keep open the Breach, without being supported by any other Principles; or, at worst, a Body of discontented People can change, and take up what Principles they please,

As to the Disposition of the opposite Party, at this Juncture, we all remember, that the Removal of the last Ministry was brought about by several Degrees; through which Means it happened, that they and their Friends were hardly recovered out of one Astonishment, before they fell into another. This Scene lasted for some Months; and was followed by a Period of Rage and Despair, natural to those who reflect, that they have lost a secure Game by their own Rashness, Folly, and Want of common Management: When at the same Time they knew by Experience, that a watchful and dextrous Adversary lay ready to take the Advantage. However, some Time before the Session, the Heads of that Party began to recollect themselves, and rally their Forces; like an Enemy who hath been beaten out of
the

the Field, but findeth he is not pursued. For, although the Chiefs of this Faction were thought to have but little Esteem or Friendship for each other, yet they perfectly agreed in one general End of distressing, by all possible Methods, the new Administration; wherein, if they could succeed so far, as to put the Queen under any great Necessity, another Parliament must be called, and perhaps the Power devolve again into their own Hands,

THE Issue and Event of that grand Confederacy appearing in both Houses, although under a different Form, upon the first Day the Parliament met; I cannot better begin the Relation of Affairs commencing from that Period, than by a thorough Detection of the whole Intrigue, carried on with the greatest Privacy and Application; which must be acknowledged to have for some Days very much disconcerted the Ministry, as well as dispirited their Friends; and of the Consequences thereof, which have in reality been so very pernicious to the Kingdom.

BUT, because the principal Leaders in this Design are the same Persons to whom, since the Loss of their Power, all the Opposition hath been owing, which the Court received
either

either in Treaties Abroad, or the Administration at Home ; it may not be improper to describe these Qualities in each of them, which few of their Admirers will deny, and which appear chiefly to have influenced them in acting their several Parts upon the publick Stage : For, I do not pretend to draw their Characters entire, which would be tedious, and little to the Purpose ; but shall only single out those Passions, Acquirements, and Habits, which the Owners were most likely to transfer into their political Schemes ; and which were most subservient to the Designs they seemed to have in View.

THE Lord *Sommers* may very deservedly be reputed the Head and Oracle of that Party : He hath raised himself by the Concurrence of many Circumstances to the greatest Employments of the State, without the least Support from Birth or Fortune : He hath constantly, and with great Steadiness cultivated those Principles under which he grew. That Accident which first produced him into the World, of pleading for the Bishops whom King *James* had sent to the Tower, might have proved a Piece of Merit as honourable as it was fortunate : But, the old Republican Spirit, which the Revolution had roused, began to teach other Lessons ;

sons; that, since we had accepted a new King from a Calvinistical Commonwealth, we must likewise admit new Maxims in Religion and Government: But, since the Nobility and Gentry would probably adhere to the Established Church, and to the Rights of Monarchy as delivered down from their Ancestors; it was the Practice of these Politicians to introduce such Men, as were perfectly indifferent to any or no Religion; and who were not likely to inherit much Loyalty from those to whom they owed their Birth. Of this Number was the Person I am now describing: I have hardly known any Man with Talents more proper to acquire and preserve the Favour of a Prince; never offending in Word or Gesture, which are in the highest Degree courteous and complaisant; wherein he set an excellent Example to his Collegues, which they did not think fit to follow: But this extreme Civility is universal and undistinguished; and in private Conversation, where he observeth it as inviolably as if he were in the greatest Assembly, it is sometimes censured as formal. Two Reasons are assigned for this Behaviour: First, that, from the Consciousness of his humble Original, he keepeth all Familiarity at the utmost Distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude: The Second, that, being sensible how subject he is to violent

violent Passions, he avoideth all Incitements to them, by teaching those he converseth with, from his own Examples, to keep a great Way within the Bounds of Decency and Respect. And, it is indeed true, that no Man is more apt to take Fire upon the least Appearance of Provocation; which Temper he striveth to subdue with the utmost Violence upon himself; so that his Breast hath been seen to heave, and his Eyes to sparkle with Rage, in those very Moments when his Words, and the Cadence of his Voice, were in the humblest and softest Manner. Perhaps this Force upon his Nature may cause that insatiable Love of Revenge, which his Detractors lay to his Charge; who consequently reckon Dissimulation among his chief Perfections. Avarice he hath none; and his Ambition is gratified by being the uncontested Head of his Party. With an excellent Understanding, adorned by all the polite Parts of Learning, he hath very little Taste for Conversation; to which he prefers the Pleasure of Reading and Thinking; and, in the Intervals of his Time, amuseth himself with an illiterate Chaplain, an humble Companion, or a favourite Servant,

THESE are some few distinguishing Marks in the Character of that Person, who now presideth

fideth over the discontented Party ; although he be not answerable for all their Mistakes : And, if his Precepts had been more strictly followed, perhaps their Power had not been so easily shaken. I have been assured, and have heard him profess, that he was against engaging in that foolish Prosecution of Doctor *Sacheverall* ; as what he foresaw was likely to end in their Ruin : That, he blamed the rough Demeanor of some Persons to the Queen, as a great Failure in Prudence ; and that when it appeared Her Majesty was firmly resolved to enter into a Treaty of Peace, he advised his Friends not to oppose it in its Progress, but find Fault with it after it was made ; which would be a Copy of the like Usage themselves had met with after the Treaty of *Ryswick* ; and the safest, as well as the most probable Way of disgracing the Promoters and Advisers. I have been the larger in representing to the Reader some Idea of this extraordinary Genius, because whatever Attempt hath hitherto been made, with any Appearance of Conduct, or Probability of Success, to restore the Dominion of that Party, was infallibly contrived by him. And I prophesy the same for the future, as long as his Age and Infirmities will leave him capable of Business.

THE Duke of *Marlborough's* Character hath been so variously drawn, and is indeed of so mixed a Nature in itself, that it is hard to pronounce on either Side, without the Suspicion of Flattery or Detraction. I shall say nothing of his military Accomplishments, which the opposite Reports of his Friends and Enemies among the Soldiers have rendered, in some Manner, problematical: But, if he be among those who delight in War, it is agreed to be not for the Reasons common with other Generals. Those Maligners, who deny him personal Valour, seem not to consider, that this Accusation is charged at a Venture; since the Person of a wise General is too seldom exposed, to form any Judgment in the Matter: And that Fear, which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an Action, might probably be more for his Army than for himself. He was bred in the Height of what is called the Tory-Principle; and continued with a strong Bias that Way, until the other Party had bid higher for him than his Friends could afford to give. His Want of Literature is in some Sort supplied by a good Understanding, a Degree of natural Elocution, and that Knowledge of the World which is learned in Armies and Courts. We are not to take the Height of his Ambition from his soliciting to be

be General for Life: I am persuaded his chief Motive was the Pay and Perquisites by continuing the War; and that he had *then* no Intention of settling the Crown in his Family; his only Son having been dead some Years before. He is noted to be Master of great Temper, able to govern, or very well disguise his Passions, which are all melted down or extinguished in his Love of Wealth. That Liberality which Nature hath denied him with respect to Money, he maketh up by great Profusion of Promises: But this Perfection, so necessary in Courts, is not very successful in Camps, among Soldiers, who are not refined enough to understand or to relish it.

HIS Wife, the Dutchess, may justly challenge her Place in this List. It is to her the Duke is chiefly indebted for his Greatness and his Fall. For above twenty Years she possessed, without a Rival, the Favours of the most indulgent Mistress in the World; nor ever missed one single Opportunity that fell in her Way of improving it to her own Advantage. She hath preserved a tolerable Court Reputation, with respect to Love and Gallantry. But three Furies reigned in her Breast, the most mortal Enemies of all softer Passions; which were, sordid Avarice, disdainful Pride, and ungovernable

able Rage. By the last of these often breaking out in Sallies of the most unpardonable Sort, she had long alienated her Sovereign's Mind, before it appeared to the World. This Lady is not without some Degree of Wit; and hath in her Time affected the Character of it, by the usual Method of arguing against Religion, and proving the Doctrines of Christianity to be impossible and absurd. Imagine what such a Spirit, irritated by the Loss of Power, Favour, and Employment, is capable of acting or attempting; and then I have said enough.

THE next, in due Order to be mentioned, is the Earl of *Godolphin*. It is said he was originally intended for a Trade, before his Friends preferred him to be a Page at Court; which some, very unjustly, have objected as a Reproach. He hath risen gradually in four Reigns; and was more constant to his second Master, King *James*, than some others who had received much greater Obligations; for he attended the abdicated King to the Sea-side, and kept constant Correspondence with him until the Day of his Death. He always professed a Sort of Passion for the Queen at *St. Germain's*; and his Letters to her were in a Stile of what the *French* call *double-entendre*; in a Mixture of Love and Respect. He used frequently

quently to send her from hence little Presents of those Things which are agreeable to Ladies; for which he always asked King *William's* Leave, as if without her Privity; because, if she had known that Circumstance, it was to be supposed she would not accept them. Physiognomists would hardly discover by consulting the Aspect of this Lord, that his predominant Passions were Love and Play; that he could sometimes scratch out a Song in Praise of his Mistress, with a Pencil and a Card; or that he hath Tears at Command, like a Woman, to be used either in an Intrigue of Gallantry or Politicks. His Alliance with the *Marlborough* Family, and his Passion for the Dutchess, were the Cords which dragged him into a Party, whose Principles he naturally disliked; and whose Leaders he personally hated, as they did him. He became a thorough Convert by a perfect Trifle, taking Fire at a * Nickname delivered by Dr. *Sacheverell* with great Indiscretion from the Pulpit, which he applied to himself: And this is one among many Instances, given by his Enemies, that Magnanimity is none of his Virtues.

THE Earl of *Sunderland* is another Branch of that Alliance. It seemeth to have been this Gentleman's

Gentleman's Fortune to have learned his Divinity from his Father, and his Politicks from his † Tutor. It may be thought a Blemish in his Character, that he hath much fallen from the Height of those Republican Principles with which he began: For, in his Father's Lifetime, while he was Member of the House of Commons; he would often among his familiar Friends refuse the Title of Lord, (as he hath done to myself) swear that he would never be called otherwise than *Charles Spencer*; and hoped to see the Day, when there should not be a Peer in *England*. His Understanding is at best of the middling Size; neither hath he much improved it either in Reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the Opinion of the World, by an overgrown Library: It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough Way of treating his Sovereign from the Lady he is allied to, or whether it be the Result of his own Nature. The Sense of the Injuries he hath done renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards those, to whom he hath given greatest Cause to complain; for which Reason he will never forgive either the Queen, or the present Treasurer.

THE

† Dr. TRIMMEL, since Bishop of *Winton*.

THE Earl of *Wharton* hath filled the Province allotted him by his Collegues with Sufficiency equal to the ablest of them all. He hath imbibed his * Father's Principles in Government, but dropt his Religion, and took up no other in its Stead : Excepting that Circumstance, he is a rigid Presbyterian. He is perfectly skilled in all the Arts of managing at Elections, as well as in laying Baits of Pleasure for making Converts of young Men of Quality upon their first Appearance ; in which publick Service he contracted such large Debts, that his Brethren were forced out of mere Justice, to leave *Ireland* at his Mercy ; where he had only Time to set himself right. Although the graver Heads of his Party think him too profligate and abandoned ; yet they dare not be ashamed of him : For, besides his Talents above mentioned, he is very useful in Parliament, being a ready Speaker ; and content to employ his Gift upon such Occasions, where those who conceive they have any Remainder of Reputation or Modesty are ashamed to appear. In short, he is an incontestable Instance to discover the true Nature of Faction ; since being over-run with every Quality which produceth Contempt and Hatred in all other Commerce

VOL. IX. C

* The Earl his Father was a rigid Presbyterian.

merce of the World, he hath notwithstanding been able to make so considerable a Figure.

THE Lord *Cowper*, although his Merits are later than the rest, deserveth a Rank in this great Council. He was very considerable in the Station of a practising Lawyer; but, as he was raised to be Chancellor and a Peer, without passing through any of the intermediate Steps, which in late Times hath been the constant Practice, and little skilled in the Nature of Government, or the true Interests of Princes, further than the municipal or common Law of *England*, to which he was bred, his Abilities as to foreign Affairs did not equally appear in the Council. Some former Passages of his Life were thought to disqualify him for that Office, by which he was to be the Guardian of the Queen's Conscience: But these Difficulties were easily over-ruled by the Authors of his Promotion, who wanted a Person that would be subservient to all their Designs; wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other Accomplishments, he is what we usually call a Piece of a Scholar, and a good logical Reasoner; if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious Way of managing an Argument, which maketh him
apt

apt to deceive the Unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself.

THE last to be spoken of in this List is the Earl of *Nottingham*, a Convert and Acquisition to that Party since their Fall, to which he contributed his Assistance; I mean his Words, and probably his Wishes: For, he had always lived under the constant, visible Profession of Principles directly opposite to those of his new Friends: His vehement and frequent Speeches against admitting the Prince of *Orange* to the Throne are yet to be seen. And, although a numerous Family gave a specious Pretence to his Love of Power and Money, for taking an Employment under that Monarch, yet he was allowed to have always kept a Reserve of Allegiance to his exiled Master; of which his Friends produce several Instances, and some, while he was Secretary of State to King *William*. His outward Regularity of Life, his Appearance of Religion, and seeming Zeal for the Church, as they are an Effect, so they are the Excuse of that Stiffness and Formality, with which his Nature is fraught. His austere Complexion disposeth him to Rigour and Severity, which his Admirers palliate with the Name of Zeal. No Man had ever a sincerer Countenance,

nance, or more truly representing his Mind and Manners. He hath some Knowledge in the Law, very amply sufficient to defend his own Property at least. A Facility of Utterance, descended to him from his Father, and improved by a few Sprinklings of Literature, hath brought himself and some few Admirers into an Opinion of his Eloquence. He is every Way much inferior to his Brother *Guernsey*; but chiefly in those Talents, which he most valueth and pretendeth to; over whom nevertheless he preserveth an Ascendant. His great Ambition was to be at the Head of those, who were called the Church-Party: And, indeed, his grave, solemn Deportment and Countenance, seconded by Abundance of Professions for their Service, had given many of them an Opinion of his Veracity; which he interpreted as their Sense of his Judgment and Wisdom: And this Mistake lasted until the Time of his Defection, of which it was partly the Cause; but then it plainly appeared that he had not Credit to bring over one single Profelyte, to keep himself in Countenance.

THESE Lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the Reader's Imagination to conceive what Sort of Persons those were, who had the Boldness to encounter the Queen and Ministry, at the Head of a great Majority of the Landed

Landed Interest; and this upon a Point, where the Quiet of Her Majesty's Reign, the Security, or at least the Freedom of Her Person, the Lives of Her most faithful Friends, and the Settling of the Nation by a Peace, were in the Consequences deeply concerned.

DURING the Dominion of the late Men in Power, Addressees had been procured from both Houses to the Queen, representing their Opinion; That no Peace could be secure for *Great Britain* while *Spain* or the *West Indies* remained in the Possession of the *Bourbon* Family. But, Her Majesty having for Reasons, which have been often told to the World, and which will not soon be forgotten, called a new Parliament, and chose a new Set of Servants, began to view Things and Persons in another Light: She considered the Necessities of Her People, the distant Prospect of a Peace upon such an improbable Condition, which was never mentioned, or understood in the *Grand Alliance*; the unequal Burthen she bore in the War, by the Practices of the Allies upon the Corruption of some whom she most trusted; or perhaps by the Practices of these upon the Allies; and lastly by the Changes which Death had brought about in the *Austrian* and *Bourbon* Families: Upon all which Motives she was prevailed upon to receive some Over-
tures

tures from *France*, in Behalf of herself and the whole Confederacy. The several Steps of this Negotiation, from it's first Rise to the Time I am now writing, shall be related in another Part of this History. Let it suffice for the present to say, That such Proposals were received from *France* as were thought sufficient by our Court whereupon to appoint Time and Place for a general Treaty. And, soon after the Opening of the Session, the * Bishop of *Bristol*, Lord Privy-Seal, was dispatched to *Utrecht*, where he and the Earl of *Strafford* were appointed Plenipotentiaries for the Queen of *Great Britain*.

THE Managers of the discontented Party, who during the whole Summer had observed the Motions of the Court running fast towards a Peace, began to gather up all their Forces, in Order to oppose Her Majesty's Designs when the Parliament should meet. Their only Strength was in the House of Lords, where the Queen had a very crazy Majority, made up by those whose Hearts were in the other Interest; but whose Fears, Expectations, or immediate Dependence had hitherto kept them within Bounds. There were two Lords, upon whose Abilities and Influence of a very different Nature, the Managers built their strongest Hopes.

* Dr. *Robinson*, afterwards Bishop of *London*.

Hopes. The first was the Duke of *Somerset*, Master of the Horse. This Duke, as well as his Dutches, was in a good Degree of Favour with the Queen, upon the Score of some Civilities and Respects Her Majesty had received from them while she was Princess: For, some Years after the Revolution, he never appeared at Court; but was looked upon as a Favourer of the abdicated Family: And it was the late Earl of *Rochester* who first presented him to King *William*: However, since the Time he came into Employment, which was towards the Close of the last Reign, he hath been a constant zealous Member of the other Party; but never failed either in Attendance, or Respect towards the Queen's Person; or, at most, only threatened sometimes, that he would serve no longer, while such or such Men were employed, which, as Things went then, was not reckoned any Offence at all against Duty or Behaviour. He had been much carested and flattered by the Lords of the * *Juncto*, who sometimes went so far as to give him Hopes of the Crown in Reversion to his Family, upon Failure in the House of *Hanover*. All this worked so far upon his Imagination, that he affected to appear the Head of their Party, to which his Talents were no Way

* A Cant Name given to five Lords of that Party.

Way proportioned: For, they soon grew weary of his indigested Schemes, and his imperious Manner of obtruding them. They began to drop him at their Meetings, or contradict him with little Ceremony, when he happened to be there, which his haughty Nature was not able to brook. Thus, a mortal Quarrel was kindled between him and the whole Assembly of Party Leaders; so that, upon the Queen's first Intentions of changing Her Ministry soon after the Tryal of Doctor *Sacheverell*, he appointed several Meetings with Mr. *Harley* alone, in the most private Manner, in Places and at Times least liable to Suspicion: He employed all his Credit with the Queen to drive on the Removal of my Lord *Godolphin* and the rest; and in the Council treated the small Remainder, who continued some Time longer in their Places, with all possible Marks of Hatred or Disdain: But, when the Question came for dissolving the Parliament, he stopt short: He had already satiated his Resentments, which were not against Things, but Persons: He furiously opposed that Council, and promised to undertake for the Parliament himself. When the Queen had declared Her Pleasure for the Dissolution, he flew off in greater Rage than ever; opposed the Court in all Elections where he had Influence or Power; and made very
humble

humble Advances to reconcile himself with the discarded Lords, especially the Earl of *Gordolphin*; who is reported to have treated him at *Newmarket* in a most contemptuous Manner: But the Sincerity of his Repentance, which appeared manifestly in the first Session of the new Parliament; and the Use he might be of by his own remaining Credit, or rather that of his Dutcheſs with the Queen, at length begat a Reconcilement. He ſtill kept his Employment and Place in the Cabinet Council, but had never appeared there, from an avowed Diſlike of all Perſons and Proceedings. It happened about the End of Summer 1711, at *Windsor*, when the Cabinet Council was ſummoned; this Duke, whether by Directions from his Teachers, or the Inſtability of his Nature, took a Fancy to reſume his Place; and a Chair was brought accordingly: Upon which, *Mr. Secretary St. John* *refuſed to aſſiſt*; and gave his *Reaſons*: That he would never ſit in Council with a Man who had ſo often betrayed them; and was openly engaged with a Faction, which endeavoured to obſtruct all Her Majeſty's Meaſures. Thus the Council was put off to next Day; and the Duke made no farther Attempts to be there: But, upon this Incident, he declared open War againſt the Miniſtry, and, from that Time to the Session, employed himſelf

self in spiriting up several depending Lords to adhere to their Friends, when an Occasion should offer. The Arguments he made Use of were; That, those in Power designed to make an ignominious and unsecure Peace, without consulting the Allies; That, this could be no otherwise prevented, than by an Address from the Lords to signify their Opinion, That no Peace could be honourable or secure, while *Spain* or the *West Indies* remained in any of the *Bourbon* Family; upon which several farther Resolutions and Enquiries would naturally follow; That, the Differences between the two Houses upon this Point must either be made up by the Commons agreeing with the Lords, or must end in a Dissolution, which would be followed by a Return of the old Ministry; who, by the Force of Money and Management, could easily get another Parliament to their Wishes. He farther assured them boldly, that the Queen herself was at the Bottom of this Design, and had empowered him to desire their Votes against the Peace, as a Point that would be for her Service; and therefore they need not be in Pain upon Account of their Pensions, or any farther Marks of Favour they expected. Thus, by reviving the old Art of using Her Majesty's Authority against her Person, he prevailed over some, who were not otherwise in a Station

Station of Life to oppose the Crown : And his Profelytes may pretend to some Share of Pity, since he offered for an Argument his own Example, who kept his Place and Favour, after all he had done to deserve the Loss of both.

THE other Lord, in whom the discontented Managers placed much of their Hopes, was the Earl of *Nottingham*, than whom no Man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleased at their Fall ; partly from his avowed Principles, but chiefly from the Hopes he had of sharing in their Spoils. But, it fell out, that he was no Way acceptable to the Queen, or her new Servants ; These apprehended no little Trouble and Impediment to the Publick Business from his restless, talkative, overweening Manner, if once he were suffered to have Part in Affairs ; and he stood very ill with the Court, having made a Motion in the House of Lords, and in Her Majesty's Presence, That the Electoral Prince of *Hanover* might be invited to reside in *England* ; although he had before declared to the Queen, how much he was against that Proposal, when it was first offered by the other Party : However, some very considerable Employments had been given to his nearest Relations ; and he had one or two Offers for himself, which he thought fit to refuse, as not equal
to

to his Merits and Character. Upon the Earl of *Rochester's* Decease, he conceived, that the Crown would hardly overlook him for President of the Council; and deeply resented that Disappointment. But, the Duke of *Newcastle*, Lord Privy-Seal, dying some Time after, he found that Office was designed for the Earl of *Jersey*, and, upon this Lord's sudden Death, was actually disposed of to the Bishop of *Bristol*; by which he plainly saw, that the Queen was determined against giving him any Opportunity of directing in Affairs, or displaying his Eloquence in the Cabinet Council. He had now shaken off all Remains of Patience or Temper; and, from the Contemplation of his own Disappointments fell, as it is natural, to find Fault with the Publick Management; and to assure his Neighbours in the Country, that the Nation was in imminent Danger of being ruined. The discontented Lords were soon apprized of this great Change; and the Duke of *Roxborough*, the Earl's Son-in-Law, was dispatched down to *Burleigh on the Hill*, to cultivate his present Dispositions, and offer him whatever Terms he pleased to insist on. The Earl immediately agreed to fall in with any Measures for distressing or destroying the Ministry: But, in Order to preserve his Reputation with the Church-Party, and perhaps bring them over to his Interests,

terests, he proposed, that a Bill should be brought into the House of Lords for preventing Occasional Conformity, and be unanimously agreed to by all the Peers of the Low Church Principle; which would convince the World of their good Intentions to the Established Religion; and, that their Oppositions to the Court wholly proceeded from their Care of the Nation, and Concern for its Honour and Safety.

THESE Preparations were publick enough, and the Ministers had sufficient Time to arm themselves. But, they seem to have acted in this Juncture, like Men, who trusted to the Goodness of their Cause, and the general Inclinations of the Kingdom, rather than to those Arts, which our Corruptions have too often made necessary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed, that there would be a Majority of ten upon the Side of the Court. I remember to have told my Lord *Harcourt* and Mr. *Prior*, that a Majority of Ten was only a Majority of Five; because, if their Adversaries could bring off Five, the Number would be equal, and so it happened to prove: For the Mistake lay in counting upon the bare Promises of those who were wholly in the Interest of the Old Ministry,

try, and were only kept in Awe by the Fear of offending the Crown, and losing their Subsistence; wherein the Duke of *Somerset* had given them full Satisfaction.

WITH these Dispositions of both Parties, and Fears and Hopes of the Event, the Parliament met upon the seventh Day of *December*, 1711. The Queen's Speech, (excepting what related to Supplies) was chiefly taken up in telling both Houses what Progress She had made towards a general Peace; and Her Hopes of bringing it to a speedy Conclusion. As soon as Her Majesty was withdrawn, the House of Lords, in a Committee, resolved upon an Address of Thanks, to which the Earl of *Nottingham* proposed an Addition of the following Clause.

“ AND we do beg Leave to represent it to
 “ Your Majesty, as the humble Opinion and
 “ Advice of this House, That no Peace can
 “ be Safe or Honourable to *Great Britain* or
 “ *Europe*, if *Spain* and the *West-Indies* are to
 “ be allotted to any Branch of the House of
 “ *Bourbon*.”

HE was seconded by the Earl of *Scarborough*; and, after a Debate of several Hours, the Question for the Clause was carried by

by not above two Voices. The next Day the House agreed with the Committee; the depending Lords having taken fresh Courage from their Principals; and some who professed themselves very humble Servants to the present Ministry, and Enemies to the former, went along with the Stream, pretending not to see the Consequences that must visibly follow. The Address was presented on the 11th, to which Her Majesty's Answer was short and dry. She distinguished their Thanks from the rest of the Piece; and, in Return to my Lord *Nottingham's* Clause, said "She should be sorry
" that any Body could think she would not do
" her utmost to recover *Spain* and the *West-*
" *Indies* from the House of *Bourbon*." Upon the 15th of *December* the Earl of *Nottingham* likewise brought in the Bill to prevent occasional Conformity (although under a disguised Title) which met with no Opposition, but swallowed by those very Lords, who had always appeared with the utmost Violence against the least Advantage to the Established Church.

BUT, in the House of Commons there appeared a very different Spirit: For, when one Mr. *Robert Walpole* offered a Clause of the same Nature with that of the Earl of *Nottingham*, it was rejected, with Contempt, by a
very

very great Majority. Their Address was in the most dutiful Manner, approving what Her Majesty had done towards a Peace; and trusting entirely to Her Wisdom in the future Management of it. This Address was presented to the Queen a Day before that of the Lords; and received an Answer distinguishingly gracious: But the other Party was no Way discouraged by either Answer, which they looked upon as only Matter of Course, and the Sense of the Ministry contrary to that of the Queen.

THE Parliament sat as long as the approaching Festival would allow; and upon the 22d, the Land-Tax and Occasional Bill having received the Royal Assent, the House of Commons adjourned to the 14th of *January* following: But, the Adjournment of the Lords was only to the 2d. The prevailing Party there being in Haste to pursue the Consequences of the Earl of *Nottingham's* Clause, which they hoped would end in the Ruin of the Treasurer, and overthrow the Ministry; and therefore took the Advantage of this Interval, that they might not be disturbed by the Commons.

WHEN this Address against any Peace without *Spain*, &c. was carried in the House of Lords, it is not easy to describe the Effect it had

had upon most Men's Passions. The Partisans of the old Ministry triumphed loudly, and without any Reserve, as if the Game were their own. The Earl of *Wharton* was observed in the House to smile, and to put his Hands to his Neck when any of the Ministry was speaking, by which he would have it understood that some Heads were in Danger. *Parker*, the Chief Justice, began already with great Zeal and Officiousness to prosecute Authors and Printers of Weekly and other Papers, writ in Defence of the Administration: In short, Joy and Vengeance sat visible in every Countenance of that Party.

ON the other Side, all Well-wishers to the Church, the Queen, or the Peace, were equally dejected; and the Treasurer stood the foremost Mark both of his Enemies Fury, and the Censure of his Friends; among the Latter, some imputed this fatal Miscarriage to his procrastinating Nature; others to his immeasurable publick Thrift: Both Parties agreed, that a First Minister, with very moderate Skill in Affairs, might easily have governed the Event; and some began to doubt, whether the great Fame of his Abilities, acquired in other Stations, were what he justly deserved. All this he knew well enough, and heard it with great

Phlegm ; neither did it make any Alteration in his Countenance or Humour. He told Monsieur *Buyss*, the *Dutch* Envoy, two Days before the Parliament sat, that he was sorry for what was like to pass, because the *States* would be the first Sufferers, which he desired the Envoy to remember ; and to his nearest Friends, who appeared in Pain about the Publick or themselves, he only said, that all would be well, and desired them not to be frightened.

It was, I conceive, upon these Motives, that the Treasurer advised her Majesty to create twelve * new Lords, and thereby disable the Sting

* JAMES, Lord *Compton*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Northampton* ; CHARLES, Lord *Bruce*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Aylesbury*, both called by Writ to the House of Lords. CHARLES HAY, Esq. (or Lord *Duplin* in *Scotland*, the Lord High Treasurer's Son in Law) Baron *Hay* of *Bedwarden*, in the County of *Hereford* ; the Lord Viscount *Windsor* of *Ireland*, Baron *Montjoy* of the Isle of *Wight*, in the County of *Southampton* ; HENRY PAGET, Esq. (Son to the Lord *Paget*) Baron *Burton*, of *Burton* in the County of *Stafford* ; Sir THOMAS MANSEL, Bart. Baron *Mansel*, of *Morgan* in the County of *Glamorgan* ; Sir THOMAS WILLOUGHBY, Baron *Middleton*, of *Middleton* in the County of *Warwick* ; Sir THOMAS TREVOR, Baron *Trevor*, of *Bromham* in the County of *Bedford* ; GEORGE GRANVILLE, Esq. Baron *Lansdowne* in the County of *Devon* ; SAMUEL MASHAM, Esq. Baron *Masham*, of *Oates* in the County of *Essex* ; THOMAS FOLEY, Esq. Baron *Foley*, of *Kidderminster* in the County of *Worcester* ; and, ALLEN BATHURST, Esq. Baron *Bathurst*, of *Battlefield* in the County of *Bedford*. Created December 31, 1711.

Sting of Faction for the rest of her Life Time. This Promotion was so ordered, that a third Part were of those on whom, or their Posterity, the Peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such, whose Merit, Birth, and Fortune, could admit of no Exception.

THE adverse Party, being thus driven down by open Force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did; That it was a pernicious Example set for ill Princes to follow, who, by the same Rule, might make at any Time an Hundred as well as Twelve; and by these Means become Masters of the House of Lords whenever they pleased, which would be dangerous to our Liberties. To this it was answered, that ill Princes very seldom trouble themselves to look for Precedents: That Men of great Estates will not be less fond of preserving their Liberties when they are created Peers; That in such a Government as this, where the Prince holds the Balance between two great Powers, the Nobility and the People, it is the very Nature of his Office to remove from one Scale into the other, or sometimes put his own Weight into the lightest, so as to bring both to an Equilibrium: And lastly, That the other Party had been above twenty Years corrupting the Nobility with Republican Principles,

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Principles, which nothing but the Royal Prerogative could hinder from overspreading us.

THE Conformity Bill above mentioned was prepared by the Earl of *Nottingham* before the Parliament met, and brought in at the same Time with the Clause against Peace, according to the Bargain made between him and his new Friends: This he hoped would not only save his Credit with the Church Party, but bring them over to his Politicks, since they must needs be convinced, that instead of changing his own Principles, he had prevailed on the greatest Enemies to the Established Religion to be the first Movers in a Law for the perpetual Settlement of it. Here it was worth observing with what Resignation the *Juncto Lords*, as they were then called, were submitted to by their Adherents and Followers; for, it is well known, that the Chief among the Dissenting Teachers in Town were consulted upon this Affair, and such Arguments used, as had Power to convince them, that nothing could be of greater Advantage to their Cause than the Passing of this Bill: I did indeed see a Letter at that Time from one of them to a great *
Man

* ROBERT HARLEY, then Lord High Treasurer. Created Baron of *Wigmore* in the County of *Hereford*,
Earl

Man, complaining, that they were betrayed and undone by their pretended Friends; but they were in general very well satisfied upon Promises that this Law should soon be repealed, and others more in their Favour enacted, as soon as their Friends should be re-established.

BUT nothing seemed more extraordinary than the Event of this refined Management; by which the Earl of *Nottingham* was so far from bringing over Profelytes (wherein his Abilities fell very short even of the Duke of *Somerset's*;) or preserving the Reputation of a firm Churchman, that very few People did imagine he had any such Design; only, when he brought in the Bill, they conceived it was some wonderful deep Reach of Politicks, which they could not comprehend: However, they liked the Thing, and, without troubling themselves about the Persons or Motives from whence it rose, it had a very speedy Passage through both Houses.

IT must be confessed that some Attempt of this Nature was much more necessary to the Leaders of that Party, than is generally thought. The Desire of Power and Revenge
was

Earl of the City of *Oxford*, and Earl *Mortimer*, May 24, 1711, the 10th of Queen ANNE.

was common to them all ; but several among them were also conscious that they stood in need of Protection, whose Safety was therefore concerned in the Design of ruining the Ministry, as well as their Ambition.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* foresaw those Examinations, which were afterwards made into some Parts of his Management, and was apprehensive of a great deal more ; that the Parliament would perhaps enquire into the Negotiations at the *Hague*, in one Thousand seven Hundred and Nine ; for what Ends, and by whose Advice, the Propositions of Peace from *France* were rejected : Besides, he dreaded, lest that mysterious Policy might be laid open to the World, of desiring the Queen to constitute him General for Life, which was a very tender Point, and would admit of much Proof. It is true, indeed, that, whilst the Duke's Affair was under the Consideration of the House of Commons one of his Creatures * (whether by Direction or otherwise) assured the Speaker, with a very serious Countenance, that the World was mistaken in censuring his Lord upon this Article ; for it was the Queen who pressed the Duke to accept that Commission ;

and,

* CRAGGS, Father to the Secretary of State to King GEORGE I.

and, upon his humble Refusal, conceived her first Displeasure against him. How such a Defence would have passed, if it had been offered in Form, is easier to be conceived, than how any Person in his Wits could have the Confidence to affirm it; which last, indeed, would be hard to believe, if there were any Room left for Doubt.

THE Earl of *Godolphin* wanted Protection, notwithstanding the Act of a general Pardon, which had been procured by his Credit, and was principally calculated for his own Security. He knew that his long Neglect of compelling the Accomptants to pass their Accompts might be punished as a Breach of Trust. He had run the Kingdom into immense Debts, by taking up Stores for the Navy at a vast Discount, without Parliamentary Security; for which he could be able to plead neither Law nor Necessity; and he had given Way, at least, to some Proceedings, not very justifiable, in relation to Remittances of Money, whereby the Public had suffered considerable Losses. The * *Barrier Treaty* sat heavy on the Lord *Townsend's* Spirits, because if it should be laid before the House

* See some Remarks on that Treaty between Her Majesty and the States General, in the last Piece in Vol. V. of the Author's Works.

House of Commons, whoever negotiated that Affair might be subject to the most severe Animadversions: And the Earl of *Wharton's* † Administration in *Ireland* was looked upon as a sufficient Ground to impeach him, at least for high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

THE Managers in *Holland* were sufficiently apprized of all this; and M. *Buys*, their Minister here, took Care to cultivate that good Correspondence between his Masters and their *English* Friends, which became two Confederates, pursuing the same End.

THIS Man had been formerly employed in *England* from that Republick, and understood a little of our Language. His Proficiency in Learning hath been such, as to furnish now and then a *Latin* Quotation, of which he is as liberal as his Stock will admit. His Knowledge in Government reacheth no farther

† THOMAS WHARTON, was created an Earl in December 1706. Made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in 1708. Arrived at *Dublin*, April 21, 1709, and opened the Parliament the 5th of May. JOSEPH ADDISON, Esq. the famous Poet, was his Secretary. His Lordship was succeeded in Titles and Honours by his only Son, PHILIP, who was created Marquis of *Carlow* in *Ireland*, and Duke of *Wharton* in *England* by King GEORGE I. and died very poor in *France* without leaving Issue.

ther than his own Country, by which he formeth and cultivateth Matters of the State for the rest of the World. His Reasonings upon Politics are with great Profusion at all Meetings; and he leaves the Company with entire Satisfaction that he hath fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior Sort of Cunning, which is the Growth of his Country, of a Standard with the Genius of the People, and capable of being transferred into every Condition of Life among them, from the Boor to the Burgomaster. He came to *England* with Instructions, authorising him to accommodate all Differences between Her Majesty and the States; but, having first advised with the confederate Lords, he assured the Ministry he had Powers to hear their Proposals, but none to conclude: And, having represented to his Masters what had been told him by the adverse Party, he prevailed with them to revoke his Powers. He found the Interest of those who withstood the Court would exactly fall in with the Designs of the States, which were to carry on the War as well as they could at our Expence, and to see themselves at the Head of the Treaty of Peace, whenever they were disposed to apply to *France*, or to receive Overtures from thence.

THE

THE Emperor, upon many powerful Reasons, was utterly averse from all Councils which aimed at putting an End to the War, without delivering him the whole Dominion of *Spain*; nay, the Elector of *Hanover* himself, although presumptive Heir to the Crown of *England*, and obliged, by all Sort of Tyes, to cultivate Her Majesty's Friendship, was so far deceived by Misrepresentations from hence, that he seemed to suffer M. *Bothmar*, his Envoy here, to print and publish a Memorial in *English*, directly disapproving all Her Majesty's Proceedings; which Memorial, as appeareth by the Style and Manner of it, was all drawn up, or at least digested by some Party Pen on this Side of the Water. Cautious Writers, in order to avoid Offence or Danger, and to preserve the Respect, even due to foreign Princes, do usually charge the wrong Steps, in a Court, altogether upon the Persons employed; but I should have taken a more secure Method, and have been wholly silent in this Point, if I had not then conceived some Hope, that his Electoral Highness might possibly have been a Stranger to the Memorial of his Resident: For, first, The Manner of delivering it to the Secretary of State was out of all Form, and almost as
extra-

extraordinary as the Thing itself. *M. Bothmar*, having obtained an Hour from *Mr. St. John*, talked much to him upon the Subject, of which that Memorial consisted; and upon going away, desired he might leave a Paper with the Secretary, which he said contained the Substance of what he had been discoursing. This Paper *Mr. St. John* laid aside, among others of little Consequence; and in a few Days saw a Memorial in Print, which he found upon comparing to be the same with what *Bothmar* had left.

DURING this short Recess of Parliament, and upon the Fifth Day of *January*, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* landed in *England*. Before he left his Ship he asked a Person who came to meet him, whether the new Lords were made, and what was their Number? He was attended through the Streets with a mighty Rabble of People to *St. James's*, where *Mr. Secretary St. John* introduced him to the Queen, who received him with great Civility. His Arrival had been long expected, and the Project of his Journey had as long been formed here by the Party Leaders, in Concert with *M. Buys*, and *M. Bothmar*, the *Dutch* and *Hanoverian* Envoys. This Prince brought over Credentials from the Emperor, with Offers to continue the War upon

upon a new Foot, very advantageous to *Britain*; Part of which, by Her Majesty's Commands, Mr. St. *John* soon after produced to the House of Commons, where they were rejected, not without some Indignation, by a great Majority. The Emperor's Proposals, as far as they related to *Spain*, were communicated to the House in the Words following.

“ His Imperial Majesty judges, that forty
“ thousand Men will be sufficient for this Ser-
“ vice, and that the whole Expence of the
“ War in *Spain* may amount to four Millions of
“ Crowns, towards which his Imperial Ma-
“ jesty offereth to make up the Troops, which
“ he hath in that Country, to thirty Thousand
“ Men, and to take one Million of Crowns
“ upon himself.”

On the other Side, the House of Commons, voted a third Part of those four Millions, as a sufficient Quota for Her Majesty toward that Service; for, it was supposed, the Emperor ought to bear the greatest Proportion in a Point that so nearly concerned him, or, at least, that, *Britain* contributing one Third, the other two might be paid by his Imperial Majesty and the States, as they could settle it between them.

THE Design of Prince *Eugene's* Journey was to raise a Spirit in the Parliament and People for continuing the War; for nothing was thought impossible to a Prince of such high Reputation in Arms, in great Favour with the Emperor, and impowered to make such Proposals from his Master, as the Ministry durst not reject. It appeared by an intercepted Letter from Count *Gallas*, (formerly the Emperor's Envoy here) that the Prince was wholly left to his Liberty of making what Offers he pleased in the Emperor's Name; for, if the Parliament could once be brought to raise Funds, and that the War should go on, the Ministry here must be under a Necessity of applying and expending those Funds; and the Emperor could afterwards find twenty Reasons and Excuses, as he had hitherto done, for not furnishing his Quota; therefore Prince *Eugene*, for some Time, kept himself within generals, until being pressed to explain himself upon that Particular of the War in *Spain*, which the House of *Austria* pretended to have most at Heart; he made the Offer abovementioned, as a most extraordinary Effort; and so it was, considering how little they had ever done before, towards recovering that Monarchy to themselves: But, shameful as these Proposals were, few believed the

the Emperor would observe them, or, indeed, that he ever intended to spare so many Men, as would make up an Army of thirty Thousand Men to be employed in *Spain*.

PRINCE *Eugene's* Visit to his Friends in *England* continued longer than was expected; he was every Day entertained magnificently by Persons of Quality of both Parties; he went frequently to the Treasurer, and sometimes affected to do it in private; he visited the other Ministers and great Officers of the Court, but on all Occasions publicly owned the Character and Appellation of a Whig; and in secret held continual Meetings with the Duke of *Marlborough* and the other discontented Lords, where *M. Bothmar* usually assisted. It is the great Ambition of this Prince to be perpetually engaged in War, without considering the Cause or Consequence; and to see himself at the Head of an Army, where only he can make any considerable Figure. He is not without a natural Tincture of that Cruelty, sometimes charged upon the *Italians*; and, being nursed in Arms, hath so far extinguished Pity and Remorse, that he will at any Time sacrifice a Thousand Men's Lives to Caprice of Glory or Revenge. He had conceived an incurable Hatred for the Treasurer, as the Person who prin-

principally opposed this insatiable Passion for War ; said, that he had Hopes of others, but that the Treasurer was *un mechant diable*, not to be moved ; therefore since it was impossible for him or his Friends to compass their Designs, while that Minister continued at the Head of Affairs, he proposed an Expedient, often practised by those of his Country, that the Treasurer (to use his own Expression) should be taken off, *a la Negligence* ; that this might easily be done, and pass for an Effect of Chance, if it were preceded by encouraging some proper People to commit small Riots in the Night : And in several Parts of the Town, a Crew of obscure Ruffians were accordingly employed about that Time, who probably exceeded their Commission ; and, mixing themselves with those disorderly People that often infest the Streets at Midnight, acted inhuman Outrages on many Persons, whom they cut and mangled in the Face and Arms, and other Parts of the Body without Provocation ; but an effectual Stop was put to these Enormities, which probably prevented the Execution of the main Design.

I AM very sensible, that such an Imputation ought not to be charged on any Person whatever, upon slight Grounds or doubtful Surmises ;

mises; and that those who think I am able to produce no better will judge this Passage to be fitter for a Libel than a History; but, as the Account was given by more than one Person who were at the Meeting, so it was confirmed beyond all Contradiction by several intercepted Letters and Papers: And it is most certain, that the Rage of the defeated Party, upon their frequent Disappointments, was so far inflamed, as to make them capable of some Counsels yet more violent and desperate than this, which, however, by the Vigilance of those near the Person of her Majesty were happily prevented.

ON the thirtieth Day of *December*, One Thousand seven Hundred and Eleven, the Duke of *Marlborough* was removed from all his Employments; the Duke of *Ormond* succeeding him as General, both here and in *Flanders*. This Proceeding of the Court (as far as related to the Duke of *Marlborough*) was much censured at Home and Abroad, and by some who did not wish well to the present Situation of Affairs. There were few Examples of a Commander being disgraced, after an uninterrupted Course of Success for many Years against a formidable Enemy, and this before a Period was put to the War: Those who had the least Esteem for his Valour and Conduct thought it

it not prudent to remove a General, whose Troops were perpetually victorious, while he was at their Head; because this had infused into his Soldiers an Opinion that they should always conquer, and into the Enemy that they should always be beaten; than which nothing is held to be of greater Moment, either in the Progress of the War, or upon the Day of Battle; and I have good Grounds to affirm, that these Reasons had sufficient Weight with the Queen and Ministry, to have kept the Duke of *Marlborough* in his Post, if a Way could have been found out to have done it with any Assurance of Safety to the Nation. It is the Misfortune of Princes, that the Effects of their Displeasure make usually much more Noise than the Causes: Thus, the Sound of the Duke's Fall was heard farther than many of the Reasons which made it necessary; whereof, although some were visible enough, yet others lay more in the Dark. Upon the Duke's last Return from *Flanders*, he had fixed his Arrival to Town (whether by Accident or otherwise) upon the Seventeenth of *November*, called *Queen ELIZABETH'S DAY*, when great Numbers of his Creatures and Admirers had thought fit to revive an old Ceremony among the Rabble of burning the Pope in Effigy; for the Performance of which, with more Solemnity,

they had made extraordinary Preparations. From the several Circumstances of the Expence of this intended Pageantry, and of the Persons who promoted it, the Court, apprehensive of a Design to inflame the common People, thought fit to order, that the several Figures should be seized as Popish Trinkets; and Guards were ordered to patrol for preventing any tumultuous Assemblies. Whether this Frolick were only intended for an Affront to the Court, or whether it had a deeper Meaning, I must leave undetermined. The Duke, in his own Nature, is not much turned to be popular; and, in his flourishing Times, whenever he came back to *England* upon the Close of a Campaign, he rather affected to avoid any Concourse of the Mobile, if they had been disposed to attend him; therefore so very contrary a Proceeding at this Juncture made it suspected, as if he had a Design to have placed himself at their Head. *France*, Popery, the Pretender, Peace without *Spain*, were the Words to be given about at this mock Parade; and, if what was confidently asserted be true, that a Report was to have been spread at the same Time of the Queen's Death, no Man can tell what might have been the Event.

BUT

BUT this Attempt, to whatever Purposes intended, proving wholly abortive by the Vigilance of those in Power, the Duke's Arrival was without any Noise or Consequence; and, upon consulting with his Friends, he soon fell into their new Scheme for preventing the Peace. It was believed by many Persons, that the Ministers might, with little Difficulty, have brought him over, if they had pleased to make Trial; for, as he would probably have accepted any Terms to continue in a Station of such prodigious Profit, so there was sufficient Room to work upon his Fears, of which he is seldom unprovided, (I mean only in his political Capacity) and his Infirmary was very much increased by his unmeasurable Possessions, which have rendered him, *ipsique onerique timentem*; but Reason, as well as the Event, proved this to be a Mistake: For the Ministers, being determined to bring the War to as speedy an Issue as the Honour and Safety of their Country would permit, could not possibly recompence the Duke for the mighty Incomes he held by the Continuance of it. Then the other Party had calculated their Numbers; and by the Accession of the Earl of Nottingham, whose Example they hoped would have many Followers, and the successful Solicitations of the Duke of

Somerſet, found they were ſure of a Majority in the Houſe of Lords: So that, in this View of Circumſtances, the Duke of *Marlborough* thought he acted with Security, as well as Advantage: He therefore boldly fell, with his whole Weight, into the Deſign of ruining the Miniſtry at the Expence of his Duty to his Sovereign, and the Welfare of his Country, after the mighty Obligations he had received from both. Whig and Tory were now no longer the Diſpute, but the Queen and the Duke of *Marlborough*: He was at the Head of all the Cabals, and conſulted with *Bothmar*, and *Buy*, and the diſcontented Lords. He forgot that Government of his Paſſion, for which his Admirers uſed to celebrate him, fell into all the Impotencies of Anger and Violence upon every Party Debate: So, that the Queen found herſelf under a Neceſſity, either on the one Side to ſacrifice thoſe Friends, who had ventured their Lives in reſcuing her out of the Power of ſome, whoſe former Treatment ſhe had little Reaſon to be fond of, to put an End to the Progreſs ſhe had made towards a Peace, and diſſolve the Parliament; or, on the other Side, by removing one Perſon from ſo great a Truſt, to get clear of all her Difficulties at once: Her Majeſty therefore determined upon the Latter, as the ſhorter and ſafer Courſe; and

and, during the Recess at *Christmas*, sent the Duke a Letter, to tell him, she had no farther Occasion for his Service.

THERE hath not perhaps in the present Age been a clearer Instance to shew the Instability of Greatness, which is not founded on Virtue; and it may be an Instruction to Princes, who are well in the Hearts of their People, that the overgrown Power of any particular Person, although supported by exorbitant Wealth, can by a little Resolution be reduced in a Moment, without any dangerous Consequence. This Lord, who was beyond all Comparison the greatest Subject in *Christendom*, found his Power, Credit, and Influence, crumble away on a sudden; and, except a few Friends and Followers by Inclination, the rest dropt off in Course. From directing in some Manner the Affairs of *Europe*, he descended to be a Member of a Faction, and with little Distinction even there; That Virtue of subduing his Re-entments, for which he was so famed when he had little or no Occasion to exert it, having now wholly forsaken him when he stood most in Need of its Assistance; and upon Trial was unable to bear a Reverse of Fortune, giving Way to Rage, Impatience, Envy, and Discontent.

T H E

THE
HISTORY
 OF THE
LAST SESSION, &c.

BOOK II.

THE House of Lords met upon the second Day of *January*, according to their Adjournment; but before they could proceed to Business, the twelve new-created Peers were, in the usual Form, admitted to their Seats in that Assembly, who, by their Numbers, turned the Balance on the Side of the Court, and voted an Adjournment to the same Day with the Commons. Upon the fourteenth of *January* the two Houses met; but the Queen, who intended to be there in Person, sent a Message to inform them, that she was prevented

ed by a sudden Return of the Gout, and to desire they would adjourn for three Days longer, when Her Majesty hoped She should be able to speak to them. However, her Indisposition still continuing, Mr. Secretary *St. John* brought another Message to the House of Commons from the Queen, containing the Substance of what She intended to have spoken; that She could now tell them, her Plenipotentiaries were arrived at *Utrecht*; had begun, in Pursuance of her Instructions, to concert the most proper Ways of procuring a just Satisfaction to all Powers in Alliance with Her, according to their several Treaties, and particularly with relation to *Spain* and the *West-Indies*; that She promised to communicate to them the Conditions of Peace, before the same should be concluded; that the World would now see how groundless those Reports were, and without the least Colour, that a separate Peace had been treated; that Her Ministers were directed to propose, that a Day might be fixed for the Finishing, as was done for the Commencement of this Treaty; and that, in the mean Time, all Preparations were hastening for an early Campaign, &c,

HER Majesty's Endeavours towards this great Work having been in such a Forwardness at the Time that her Message was sent, I shall here,

as in the most proper Place, relate the several Steps by which the Intercourse between the Courts of *France* and *Great-Britain* was begun and carried on.

THE Marquis *de Torcy*, sent by the Most Christian King to the *Hague*, had there, in the Year 1709, made very advantageous Offers to the Allies, in his Master's Name; which our Ministers, as well as those of the States, thought fit to refuse, and advanced other Proposals in their Stead, but of such a Nature as no Prince could digest, who did not lie at the immediate Mercy of his Enemies. It was demanded, among other Things, that the *French* King should employ his own Troops, in Conjunction with those of the Allies, to drive his Grandson out of *Spain*. The Proposers knew very well, that the Enemy would never consent to this; and if it were possible they could at first have any such Hopes, M. *de Torcy* assured them to the contrary, in a Manner which might well be believed; for then the *British* and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries were drawing up their Demands. They desired that Minister to assist them in the Style and Expression, which he very readily did, and made use of the strongest Words he could find to please them. He then insisted to know their last Resolution, whether
these

these were the lowest Terms the Allies would accept; and having received a determinate Answer in the Affirmative, he spoke to this Effect:

“THAT he thanked them heartily for giving
“ him the happiest Day he had ever seen in his
“ Life: That, in perfect Obedience to his Ma-
“ ster, he had made Concessions, in his own
“ Opinion, highly derogatory to the King’s
“ Honour and Interest: That he had not con-
“ cealed the Difficulties of his Court, or the
“ Discontents of his Country, by a long and
“ unsuccessful War, which could only justify
“ the large Offers he had been impowered to
“ make: That the Conditions of Peace, now
“ delivered into his Hands by the Allies, would
“ raise a new Spirit in the Nation, and remove
“ the greatest Difficulty the Court lay under,
“ putting it in his Master’s Power to convince
“ all his Subjects, how earnestly his Majesty
“ desired to ease them from the Burthen of the
“ War; but that his Enemies would not accept
“ of any Terms, which could consist either
“ with their Safety or his Honour.” Mons.
Torcy assured the Pensioner, in the strongest
Manner, and bid him count upon it, that the
King his Master would never sign those Articles.

It

It soon appeared, that the Marquis *de Torcy's* Predictions were true ; for, upon delivering to his Master the last Resolutions of the Allies, that Prince took Care to publish them all over his Kingdom, as an Appeal to his Subjects against the Unreasonableness and Injustice of his Enemies : Which Proceeding effectually answered the utmost he intended by it ; for the *French* Nation, extremely jealous of their Monarch's Glory, made universal Offers of their Lives and Fortunes, rather than submit to such ignominious Terms ; and the Clergy, in particular, promised to give the King their consecrated Plate, towards continuing the War. Thus that mighty Kingdom, generally thought to be wholly exhausted of its Wealth, yet, when driven to a Necessity by the Imprudence of the Allies, or by the Corruption of particular Men, who influenced their Councils, recovered Strength enough to support itself for three following Campaigns : And in the last, by the fatal Blindness or Obstinacy of the *Dutch* (venturing to act without the Assistance of *Great Britain*, which they had shamefully abandoned), was an Overmatch for the whole confederate Army.

THOSE who, in order to defend the Proceedings of the Allies, have given an Account of

of this Negotiation, do wholly omit the Circumstance I have now related, and express the Zeal of the *British* and *Dutch* Ministers for a Peace, by informing us how frequently they sent after *Monf. de Torcy*, and *Monf. Rouille*, for a farther Conference. But, in the mean Time, *Mr. Horatio Walpole*, Secretary to the Queen's Plenipotentiaries, was dispatched over hither, to have those abortive Articles signed and ratified by Her Majesty at a Venture, which was accordingly done. A Piece of Management altogether absurd, and without Example; contrived only to deceive our People into a Belief that a Peace was intended, and to shew what great Things the Ministry designed to do.

BUT this Hope expiring, upon the News that *France* had refused to sign those Articles, all was solved by Recourse to the old Topick of the *French* Perfidiousness. We loaded them plentifully with ignominious Appellations; they were a Nation never to be trusted. The Parliament chearfully continued their Supplies, and the War went on,

THE Winter following began the second and last Session of the preceding Parliament, noted for the Trial of *Dr. Sacheverell*, and the Occasions thereby given to the People to discover and

and exert their Dispositions, very opposite to the Designs of those who were then in Power. In the Summer of One Thousand seven Hundred and Ten, ensued a gradual Change of the Ministry; and in the Beginning of that Winter the present Parliament was called.

The King of *France*, whose real Interests made him sincerely desirous of any tolerable Peace, found it impossible to treat upon equal Conditions with either of the two Maritime Powers engaged against him, because of the Prevalency of Factions in both, who acted in Concert to their mutual private Advantage, although directly against the general Dispositions of the People in either, as well as against their several Maxims of Government. But, upon the great Turn of Affairs and Councils here in *England*, the new Parliament and Ministers acting from other Motives, and upon other Principles, that Prince hoped an Opportunity might arise of resuming his Endeavours towards a Peace.

THERE was at this Time in *England* a *French* Ecclesiastick, called the Abbé *Gaultier*, who had resided several Years in *London*, under the Protection of some foreign Ministers, in whose Families he used, upon Occasion, to exercise his

his Function of a Priest. After the Battle of *Blenheim*, this Gentleman went down to *Nottingham*, where several *French* Prisoners of Quality were kept, to whom he rendered those Offices of Civility suitable to Persons in their Condition, which, upon their Return to *France*, they reported to his Advantage. Among the rest, the *Chevalier de Croissy* told his Brother, the *Marquis de Torcy*, that whenever the *French* Court would have a Mind to make Overtures of Peace with *England*, *Monf. Gualtier* might be very usefully employed in handing them to the Ministers here. This was no farther thought on at present. In the mean Time the War went on, and the Conferences at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg* miscarried, by the Allies insisting upon such Demands as they neither expected, nor perhaps desired, should be granted. Some Time in *July*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ten, *Monf. Gualtier* received a Letter from the *Marquis de Torcy*, signifying, that a Report being spread of Her Majesty's Intentions to change Her Ministry, to take *Mr. Harley* into Her Councils, and to dissolve her Parliament, the most Christian King thought it might be now a favourable Conjunction to offer new Proposals of a Treaty: *Monf. Gualtier* was therefore directed to apply himself, in the *Marquis's* Name, either to the
Duke

Duke of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Jersey*, or Mr. *Harley*, and inform the *French* Court how such a Proposition would be relished. *Gualtier* chose to deliver his Message to the second of those, who had been Ambassador from the late King to *France*; but the Earl excused himself from entering into Particulars with a Stranger, and a private Person, who had no Authority for what he said, more than a Letter from *Monf. de Torcy*. *Gualtier* offered to procure another from that Minister to the Earl himself; and did so, in a Month after: But obtained no Answer till *December* following, when the Queen had made all necessary Changes, and summoned a free Parliament to her Wishes. About the Beginning of *January*, the Abbé (after having procured his Dismission from Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's Envoy, at that Time his Protector) was sent to *Paris*, to inform *Monf. Torcy*, that her Majesty would be willing his Master should resume the Treaty with *Holland*, provided the Demands of *England* might be previously granted. *Gualtier* came back, after a short Stay, with a Return to his Message, that the *Dutch* had used the most Christian King and his Ministers in such a Manner, both at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, as made that Prince resolve not to expose himself any more to the like Treatment; that he therefore

fore chose to address himself to *England*, and was ready to make whatever Offers Her Majesty could reasonably expect, for the Advantage of Her own Kingdoms, and the Satisfaction of Her Allies.

AFTER this Message had been duly considered by the Queen and her Ministers, *Monf. Gualtier* was dispatched a second Time to *France*, about the Beginning of *March*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ten-Eleven, with an Answer to the following Purpose: "That since *France* had their particular Reasons for not beginning again to treat with *Holland, England* was willing to remove that Difficulty, and proposed it should be done in this Manner: That *France* should send over hither the Propositions for a Treaty, which should be transmitted by *England* to *Holland*, to be jointly treated on that Side of the Water; but it was to be understood, that the same Proposition, formerly offered to *Holland*, was to be made to *England*, or one not less advantageous to the Allies; for although *England* would enter most sincerely into such a Treaty, and shew, in the Course of it, the Clearness of their Intentions; yet they could not, with Honour, entertain a less beneficial Proposal than what was offered to the States."

THAT

THAT Prince, as well as his Minister, *Monf. de Torcy*, either felt, or affected, so much Repentment of the Usage the latter had met at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, that they appeared fully determined against making any Application to the States, where the same Persons continued still in Power, of whose Treatment they so heavily complained. They seemed altogether to distrust the Inclination of that Republick towards a Peace; but at the same Time shewed a mighty Complaisance to the *English* Nation, and a Desire to have Her Majesty at the Head of a Treaty. This appeareth by the first Overture in Form sent from that Kingdom, and signed by *Monf. de Torcy*, on the Twenty-second of *April*, N. S. One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven, to the following Effect:

“ THAT as it could not be doubted but the
 “ King was in a Condition of continuing the
 “ War with Honour, so it could not be looked
 “ upon as a Mark of Weakness in his Majesty to
 “ break the Silence he had kept since the Con-
 “ ferences at *Gertruydenberg*; and that, before
 “ the Opening of the Campaign, he now
 “ giveth farther Proof of the Desire he always
 “ had to procure the Repose of *Europe*. But af-
 “ ter what he hath found, by Experience, of the
 “ Senti-

“ Sentiments of those Persons who now go-
“ vern the Republick of *Holland*, and of their
“ Industry in rendering all Negotiations with-
“ out Effect, his Majesty will, for the publick
“ Good, offer to the *English* Nation those Pro-
“ positions, which he thinks fit to make for
“ terminating the War, and for settling the
“ Tranquillity of *Europe* upon a solid Founda-
“ tion. - It is with this View that he offers to
“ enter into a Treaty of Peace, founded on the
“ following Conditions.

“ FIRST, The *English* Nation shall have
“ real Securities for carrying on their Trade in
“ *Spain*, the *Indies*, and Ports of the *Mediterranean*.

“ SECONDLY, The King will consent to
“ form a sufficient Barrier in the Low Coun-
“ tries, for the Security of the Republick of
“ *Holland*; and this Barrier shall be such as
“ *England* shall agree upon and approve; his
“ Majesty promising, at the same Time, an
“ intire Liberty and Security to the Trade of
“ the *Dutch*.

“ THIRDLY, All reasonable Methods shall
“ be thought on, with Sincerity and Truth,

“ for giving Satisfaction to the Allies of *Eng-*
“ *land and Holland.*

“ **FOURTHLY,** Whereas the Affairs of the
“ King of *Spain* are in so good a Condition as
“ to furnish new Expedients for putting an
“ End to the Disputes about that Monarchy,
“ and for settling it to the Satisfaction of the
“ several Parties concerned, all sincere Endea-
“ vours shall be used for surmounting the Dif-
“ ficulties arisen upon this Occasion; and the
“ Trade and Interest of all Parties engaged in
“ the present War shall be secured.

“ **FIFTHLY,** The Conferences, in order to
“ treat of a Peace upon these Conditions, shall
“ be immediately opened; and the Plenipoten-
“ tiaries, whom the King shall name to assist
“ thereat, shall treat with those of *England*
“ and *Holland*, either alone, or in Conjunction
“ with those of their Allies, as *England* shall
“ chuse.

“ **SIXTHLY,** His Majesty proposes the
“ Towns of *Aix la Chapelle* or *Liege* for the
“ Place where the Plenipotentiaries shall as-
“ semble, leaving the Choice likewise to *Eng-*
“ *land* of either of the said Towns, wherein
“ to treat of a general Peace.”

THESE

THESE Overtures, although expressing much Confidence in the Ministry here, great Deference to the Queen, and Displeasure against the *Dutch*, were immediately transmitted by Her Majesty's Command to Her Ambassador in *Holland*, with Orders, that they should be communicated to the Pensionary. The Abbé *Gaultier* was desired to signify this Proceeding to the Marquis *de Torcy*; at the same Time to let that Minister understand, that some of the above Articles ought to be explained. The Lord *Raby*, now Earl of *Strafford*, was directed to tell the Pensionary, that Her Majesty being resolved, in making Peace as in making War, to act in perfect Concert with the States, would not lose a Moment in transmitting to him a Paper of this Importance: That the Queen earnestly desired, that the Secret might be kept among as few as possible; and that she hoped the Pensionary would advise upon this Occasion with no Person whatsoever, except such, as, by the Constitution of that Government, are unavoidably necessary: That the Terms of the several Propositions were indeed too general; but, however, they contained an Offer to treat: And that, although there appeared an Air of Complaisance to *England* through the whole Paper, and the contrary to *Holland*, yet

this could have no ill Consequences, as long as the Queen and the States took Care to understand each other, and to act with a little Reserve as became two Powers, so nearly allied in Interest; which Rule, on the Part of *Britain*, should be inviolably observed. It was signified likewise to the Pensionary, that the Duke of *Marlborough* had no Communication of this Affair from *England*, and that it was supposed he would have none from the *Hague*. After these Proposals had been considered in *Holland*, the Ambassador was directed to send back the Opinion of the *Dutch* Ministers upon them.

THE Court here was, indeed, apprehensive, that the Pensionary would be alarmed at the whole Frame of Monsieur *de Torcy's* Paper, and Particularly at these Expressions, that the *English* shall have real Securities for their Trade, &c. and that the Barrier for the States-General shall be such as *England* shall agree upon and approve. It was natural to think, that the Fear, which the *Dutch* would conceive of our obtaining advantageous Terms for *Britain*, might put them upon trying under-hand for themselves, and endeavouring to over-reach us in the Management of the Peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the War:

The

The Ambassador was therefore cautioned to be very watchful in discovering any Workings, which might tend that Way.

WHEN the Lord *Raby* was first sent to the *Hague*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, and Lord *Townsend*, had, for very obvious Reasons, used their utmost Endeavours to involve him in as many Difficulties as they could; upon which, and other Accounts, needless to mention, it was thought proper, that his Grace, then in *Flanders*, should not be let into the Secret of this Affair.

THE French Proposal of *Aix* or *Liege* for a Place of Treaty was only a farther Mark of their old Discontent against *Holland*, to shew they would not name any Town which belonged to the States.

THE Pensionary, having consulted those who had been formerly employed in the Negotiations of Peace, and enjoined them the utmost Secrecy, to avoid the Jealousy of the foreign Ministers there, desired the Ambassador to return Her Majesty Thanks, for the obliging Manner of communicating the French Overtures, for the Confidence she placed in the States, and for her Promise of making no
Step

Step towards a Peace, but in Concert with them, assuring Her of the like on their Part: That although the States endeavoured to hide it from the Enemy, they were as weary of the War as we, and very heartily desirous of a good and lasting Peace, as well as ready to join in any Method, by which Her Majesty should think proper to obtain it: That the States looked upon these Propositions as very Dark and General; and they observed how the Enemy would create Jealousy between the Queen, their Republick, and the other Allies; but they were satisfied it would have no Effect, and relied entirely on the Justness and Prudence of Her Majesty, who, they doubted not, would make the *French* explain themselves more particularly in the several Points of their Proposals, and send a Plan of the particular Conditions whereupon they would make a Peace: After which the States would be ready, either to join with Her Majesty, or to make their Objections, and were prepared to bring with them all the Facility imaginable, towards promoting so good a Work,

THIS is the Sum of the verbal Answer made by the Pensionary, upon communicating to him the *French* Proposals; and I have chosen to set it down, rather than transcribe the other
given

given to the Ambassador some Days after, which was more in Form, and to the same Purpose, but shorter, and in my Opinion not so well discovering the true Disposition of the *Dutch* Ministers.

FOR after the Queen had transmitted the *French* Overtures to *Holland*, and the States found Her Majesty was bent in Earnest upon the Thoughts of a Peace, they began to cast about how to get the Negotiation into their own Hands. They knew that whatever Power received the first Proposals would be wise enough to stipulate something for themselves, as they had done in their own Case, both at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenburg*, where they carved as they pleased, without any Regard to the Interests of their nearest Allies. For this Reason, while they endeavoured to amuse the *British* Court with Expostulations upon the several Preliminaries sent from *France*, Monsieur *Petecum*, a forward meddling Agent of *Holstein*, who had resided some Years in *Holland*, negotiated with *Heinsius*, the Grand Pensionary, as well as with *Vanderdussen* and *Buys*, about restoring the Conferences between *France* and that Republick, broke off in *Gertruydenburg*. Pursuant to which, about the End of *May*, N. S. One thousand seven hundred and eleven,

Petecum

Petecum wrote to the Marquis *de Torcy*, with the Privy of the Pensionary, and probably of the other two. The Substance of his Letter was to inform the Marquis, that Things might easily be disposed, so as to settle a Correspondence between the Crown and the Republick, in order to renew the Treaty of Peace. That this could be done with greater Secrecy, because Monsieur *Heinsius*, by Virtue of his Oath as Pensionary, might keep any Affair private as long as he thought necessary, and was not obliged to communicate it, until he believed Things were ripe; and, as long as he concealed it from his Masters, he was not bound to discover it, either to the Ministers of the Emperor, or to those of Her *British* Majesty. That since *England* thought it proper for King *Charles* to continue the whole Campaign in *Catalonia*, (although he should be chosen Emperor) in order to support the War in *Spain*, it was necessary for *France* to treat in the most secret Manner with the States, who were not now so violent, as formerly, against having *Philip* on the *Spanish* Throne, upon certain Conditions for securing their Trade, but were jealous of *England's* Design to fortify some trading Towns in *Spain* for themselves. That *Heinsius* extremely desired to get out of the War for some Reasons, which he (*Petecum*)

cam) was not permitted to tell; and that *Vanderdussen* and *Buys* were impatient to have the Negotiations with *France* once more set on foot, which if *Monsieur Torcy* thought fit to consent to, *Petecum* engaged that the States would determine to settle the Preliminaries, in the Midway between *Paris* and the *Hague*, with whatever Ministers the Most Christian King should please to employ. But *Monsieur Torcy* refused this Overture, and, in his Answer to *Monsieur Petecum*, assigned for the Reason the Treatment his Master's former Proposals had met with at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, from the Ministers of *Holland*.

Great-Britain and *Holland* seemed pretty well agreed, that those Proposals were too loose and imperfect to be a Foundation for entering upon a general Treaty; and *Monsieur Gaultier* was desired to signify to the *French* Court, that it was expected they should explain themselves more particularly on the several Articles.

But in the mean Time the Queen was firmly resolved, that the Interests of her own Kingdoms should not be neglected at this Juncture, as they had formerly twice been, while the *Dutch* were principal Managers of a Negotiation

tiation with *France*. Her Majesty had given frequent and early Notice to the States of the general Disposition of her People towards a Peace, of her own Inability to continue the War upon the old Foot, under the Disadvantage of unequal Quotas, and the universal Backwardness of her Allies. She had likewise informed them of several Advances made to her on the Side of *France*, which she had refused to hearken to, until she had consulted with those her good Friends and Confederates, and heard their Opinion on that Subject: But the *Dutch*, who apprehended nothing more than to see *Great-Britain* at the Head of a Treaty, were backward and fullen, disliked all Proposals by the Queen's Intervention, and said it was a Piece of Artifice of *France* to divide the Allies; besides, they knew the Ministry was young, and the opposite Faction had given them Assurances, that the People of *England* would never endure a Peace without *Spain*, nor the Men in Power dare to attempt it, after the Resolutions of one House of Parliament to the contrary. But in the Midst of this Unwillingness to receive any Overtures from *France* by the Queen's Hands, the *Dutch* Ministers were actually engaged in a Correspondence with that Court, where they urged our Inability to begin a Treaty

a Treaty, by Reason of those Factions, which themselves had inflamed, and were ready to commence a Negotiation upon much easier Terms than what they supposed we demanded. For not to mention the Duke of *Lorraine's* Interposition in behalf of *Holland*, which *France* absolutely refused to accept; the Letters sent from the *Dutch* to that Court were shewn some Months after to a *British* Minister there, which gave much Weight to Monsieur *de Torcy's* Insinuations; that he knew where to meet with more Compliance, if the Necessity of Affairs should force him to it, by our Refusal; and the Violence of the States against our entertaining of that Correspondence, was only because they knew theirs would never be accepted, at least till ours was thrown off.

THE Queen, sensible of all this, resolved to provide for her own Kingdoms; and, having therefore prepared such Demands for her principal Allies, as might be a Ground for proceeding to adjust their several Interests, She resolved to stipulate in a particular Manner the Advantage of *Great-Britain*: The following preliminary Demands were accordingly drawn up, in order to be transmitted to *France*.

“ Great

" *Great-Britain* will not enter into any Negotiation of Peace, otherwise than upon these Conditions, obtained beforehand.

" THAT the Union of the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* shall be prevented: That Satisfaction shall be given to all the Allies, and Trade settled and maintained."

" If *France* be disposed to treat upon this View, it is not to be doubted, that the following Propositions will be found reasonable.

" A BARRIER shall be formed in the *Low-Countries* for the States-General; and their Trade shall be secured.

" A BARRIER likewise shall be formed for the Empire.

" THE Pretensions of all the Allies, founded upon former Treaties, shall be regulated and determined to their general Satisfaction.

" IN order to make a more equal Balance of Power in *Italy*, the Dominions and Territories, which in the Beginning of the present War belonged to the Duke of *Savoy*, and are now in the Possession of *France*, shall

“ shall be restored to his Royal Highness; and
 “ such other Places in *Italy* shall be yielded to
 “ him, as will be found necessary and agreea-
 “ ble to the Sense of former Treaties made
 “ with this Prince.

“ As to *Great-Britain* in particular, the
 “ Succession to the Crown of the Kingdoms,
 “ according to the present Establishment, shall
 “ be acknowledged.

“ A NEW Treaty of Commerce between
 “ *Great Britain* and *France* shall be made af-
 “ ter the most just and reasonable Manner.

“ *Dunkirk* shall be demolished; *Gibraltar*
 “ and *Port-Mahon* shall remain in the Hands
 “ of the present Possessors.

“ THE *English* shall have the Assiento in the
 “ same Manner the *French* now enjoy it; and
 “ such Places in the *Spanish West-Indies* shall
 “ be assigned to those concerned in this Traf-
 “ fick, for the Refreshment and Sale of their
 “ Negroes, as shall be found necessary and
 “ convenient.

“ ALL Advantages, Rights, and Privileges
 “ already granted, and which may hereafter
 “ be

“ be granted by *Spain* to the Subjects of *France*,
 “ or to any other Nation whatsoever, shall be
 “ equally granted to the Subjects of *Great-*
 “ *Britain*.

“ AND for better securing the *British* Trade
 “ in the *Spanish West-Indies*, certain Places, to
 “ be named in the Treaty of Peace, shall be
 “ put into Possession of the *English*.

“ *Newfoundland*, with the *Bay* and *Streights*
 “ of *Hudson*, shall be entirely restored to the
 “ *English*; and *Great-Britain* and *France* shall
 “ severally keep and possess all those Countries
 “ and Territories in *North America*, which
 “ each of the said Nations shall be in Possessi-
 “ on of at the Time when the Ratification of
 “ this Treaty shall be published in those Parts
 “ of the World.

“ THESE Demands, and all other Proceed-
 “ ings between *Great Britain* and *France*, shall
 “ be kept inviolably secret, until they are pub-
 “ lished by the mutual Consent of both Par-
 “ ties.”

THIS last Article was not only intended for
 avoiding, if possible, the Jealousy of the *Dutch*,
 but to prevent the Clamours of the Abettors
 “ here

here at Home, who, under the pretended Fears of our doing Injustice to the *Dutch*, by acting without the Privy of that Republick, in order to make a separate Peace, would be ready to drive on the worst Designs against the Queen and Ministry, in order to recover the Power they had lost.

IN *June*, One Thousand seven Hundred and Eleven, Mr. PRIOR, a Person of great Distinction, not only on Account of his Wit, but for his Abilities in the Management of Affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the *French* Court, was dispatched thither by her Majesty with the foregoing Demands. This Gentleman was received at *Versailles* with great Civility. The King declared, that no Proceeding, in order to a general Treaty, would be so agreeable to him as by the Intervention of *England*; and that his Majesty, being desirous to contribute with all his Power towards the Repose of *Europe*, did answer to the Demands which had been made;

“ THAT he would consent freely and sincerely to all just and reasonable Methods, for
“ hindering the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*
“ from being ever united under the same
“ Prince; his Majesty being persuaded, that
“ such

“ such an Excess of Power would be as con-
“ trary to the general Good and Repose of
“ *Europe*, as it was opposite to the Will of the
“ late Catholick King CHARLES the Second.
“ He said his Intention was, that all Parties in
“ the present War should find their reasona-
“ ble Satisfaction in the intended Treaty of
“ Peace; and that Trade should be settled
“ and maintained for the Future, to the Ad-
“ vantage of those Nations which formerly
“ possessed it.

“ THAT as the King will exactly observe
“ the Conditions of Peace, whenever it shall
“ be concluded; and as the Object he proposeth
“ to himself, is to secure the Frontiers of his
“ own Kingdom, without giving any Sort of
“ Disturbance to his Neighbours, he pro-
“ miseth to agree, that, by the future Treaty
“ of Peace, the *Dutch* shall be put into Possessi-
“ on of all such fortified Places, as shall be
“ specified in the said Treaty to serve as a Bar-
“ rier to that Republick, against all Attempts
“ on the Side of *France*. He engageth like-
“ wise to give all necessary Securities, for re-
“ moving the Jealousies raised among the Ger-
“ man Princes of his Majesty's Designs.

“ THAT

“ THAT when the Conferences, in order to
“ a general Treaty, shall be formed, all the
“ Pretensions of the several Princes and States,
“ engaged in the present War, shall be fairly
“ and amicably discussed ; nor shall any Thing
“ be omitted, which may regulate and deter-
“ mine them to the Satisfaction of all Parties.

“ THAT, pursuant to the Demands made
“ by *England*, his Majesty promiseth to restore
“ to the Duke of *Savoy* these Demesnes and
“ Territories, which belonged to that Prince,
“ at the Beginning of this War, and which his
“ Majesty is now in Possession of ; and the King
“ consenteth further, that such other Places
“ in *Italy* shall be yielded to the Duke of *Sa-*
“ *voy*, as shall be found necessary, according
“ to the Sense of those Treaties made between
“ the said Duke and his Allies.

“ THAT the King's Sentiments of the pre-
“ sent Government of *Great-Britain*, the
“ open Declaration he had made in *Holland* of
“ his Resolution to treat of Peace, by Appli-
“ cations to the *English* ; the Assurances he
“ had given of engaging the King of *Spain*
“ to leave *Gibraltar* in their Hands (all which
“ are convincing Proofs of his perfect Esteem
“ for a Nation still in War with him ;) leave

“ no room to doubt of his Majesty’s Inclina-
“ tions to give *England* all Securities and Ad-
“ vantages for their Trade which they can
“ reasonably demand. But as his Majesty
“ cannot persuade himself, that a Government
“ so clear-sighted as their’s, will insist upon
“ Conditions which must absolutely destroy
“ the Trade of *France* and *Spain*, as well as
“ that of all other Nations of *Europe*, he
“ thinks the Demands made by *Great-Britain*
“ may require a more particular Discussion.

“ THAT, upon this Foundation, the King
“ thought the best Way of advancing and per-
“ fecting a Negotiation, the Beginning of which
“ he had seen with so much Satisfaction, would
“ be to send into *England* a Person instructed
“ in his Intention, and authorized by him to
“ agree upon Securities for settling the Trade
“ of the Subjects of *England*; and those par-
“ ticular Advantages to be stipulated in their
“ Favour, without destroying the Trade of
“ the *French* and *Spaniards*, or of other Na-
“ tions in *Christendom*.

“ THAT therefore his Majesty had charged
“ the Person chosen for this Commission to an-
“ swer the other Articles of the Memorial
“ given

“ given him by Mr. *Prior*, the Secret of which
“ should be exactly observed.”

MONS. *de Torcy* had, for some Years past, used all his Endeavours to incline his Master towards a Peace, pursuant to the Maxim of his Uncle *Colbert*, “ That a long War was “ not for the Interest of *France*.” It was for this Reason the King made Choice of him in the Conferences at the *Hague*; the bad Success whereof, although it filled him with Resentments against the *Dutch*, did not alter his Opinion: But he was violently opposed by a Party both in the Court and Kingdom, who pretended to fear he would sacrifice the Glory of the Prince and Country by too large Concessions: or perhaps would rather wish that the first Offers should have been still made to the *Dutch*, as a People more likely to be less solicitous about the Interest of *Britain*, than her Majesty would certainly be for theirs: And the particular Design of Mr. *Prior* was to find out, whether that Minister had Credit enough with his Prince, and a Support from others in Power, sufficient to over-rule the Faction against Peace.

MR. PRIOR's Journey could not be kept a Secret, as the Court here at first seemed to intend,

tend it. He was discovered at his Return by an Officer of the Port at *Dover*, where he landed, after six weeks Absence; upon which the *Dutch Gazettes* and *English News-papers* were full of Speculations.

AT the same Time with Mr. *Prior* there arrived from *France* *Monf. Mesnager*, Knight of the Order of St. *Michael*, and one of the Council of Trade to the most Christian King. His Commission was, in general, empowering him to treat with the Minister of any Prince engaged in the War against his Master. In his first Conferences with the Queen's Ministers, he pretended Orders to insist, that her Majesty should enter upon particular Engagements in several Articles, which did not depend upon her, but concerned only the Interest of the Allies reciprocally with those of the most Christian King; whereas the Negotiation had begun upon this Principle, that *France* should consent to adjust the Interests of *Great-Britain* in the first Place, whereby her Majesty would be afterwards enabled, by her good Offices on all Sides, to facilitate the general Peace. The Queen resolved never to depart from this Principle; but was absolutely determined to remit the particular Interests of the Allies to general Conferences, where she would do the utmost

most in her Power to procure the Repose of *Europe*, and the Satisfaction of all Parties. It was plain, *France* could run no Hazard by this Proceeding, because the preliminary Articles would have no Force before a general Peace was signed: therefore it was not doubted, but *Monf. Mefnager* would have Orders to wave this new Pretension, and go on in treating up-on that Foot which was at first proposed. In short, the Ministers required a positive and speedy Answer to the Articles in Question, since they contained only such Advantages and Securities as her Majesty thought she had a Right to require from any Prince whatsoever, to whom the Dominions of *Spain* should happen to fall.

THE particular Demands of *Great-Britain* were formed into eight Articles; to which *Monf. Mefnager*, having transmitted them to his Court and received new Powers from thence, had Orders to give his Master's Consent, by way of Answers to the several Points, to be obligatory only after a general Peace. These Demands, together with the Answers of the *French* King, were drawn up and signed by *Monf. Mefnager*, and her Majesty's two principal Secretaries of State; whereof I shall here present an Extract to the Reader.

IN

IN the Preamble the most Christian King setteth forth, " That being particularly informed
 " by the last Memorial, which the *British* Mini-
 " sters delivered to Mons. *Mefnager*, of the Dis-
 " positions of this Crown to facilitate a general
 " Peace, to the Satisfaction of the several Par-
 " ties concerned ; and his Majesty finding, in
 " Effect, as the said Memorial declares, that
 " he runneth no Hazard by engaging himself in
 " the Manner there expressed, since the preli-
 " minary Articles will be of no Force, until
 " the signing of the general Peace ; and being
 " sincerely desirous to advance, to the utmost
 " of his Power, the Repose of *Europe*, espe-
 " cially by a Way so agreeable as the Inter-
 " position of a Princess, whom so many Ties
 " of Blood ought to unite to him, and whose
 " Sentiments for the publick Tranquillity can-
 " not be doubted ; his Majesty, moved by
 " these Considerations, hath ordered Mons.
 " *Mefnager*, Knight, &c. to give the follow-
 " ing Answers in Writing, to the Articles
 " contained in the Memorial transmitted to
 " him, intituled, *Preliminary Demands for*
 " *Great-Britain in Particular.*"

The Articles were these that follow.

“ FIRST, The Succession to the Crown to
“ be acknowledged, according to the present
“ Establishment.

“ SECONDLY, A new Treaty of Commerce
“ between *Great-Britain* and *France* to be
“ made, after the most just and reasonable
“ Manner.

“ THIRDLY, *Dunkirk* to be demolished.

“ FOURTHLY, *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*
“ to continue in the Hands of those who now
“ possess them.

“ FIFTHLY, The Affiento (or Liberty of
“ selling Negroes to the *Spanish* West-Indies)
“ to be granted to the *English*, in as full a Man-
“ ner as the *French* possess it at present; and
“ such Places in the said *West-Indies* to be af-
“ signed to the Persons concerned in this
“ Trade, for the Refreshment and Sale of their
“ Negroes, as shall be found necessary and con-
“ venient.

“ SIXTHLY, Whatever Advantages, Privi-
“ leges, and Rights are already, or may here-
“ after

“ after be granted by *Spain* to the Subjects of
 “ *France*, or any other Nation, shall be equal-
 “ ly granted to the Subjects of *Great Britain*.

“ SEVENTHLY, For better protecting their
 “ Trade in the *Spanish* West Indies, the *Eng-*
 “ *lish* shall be put into Possession of such Places
 “ as shall be named in the Treaty of Peace.

“ OR, as an Equivalent for this Article, that
 “ the Assiento be granted to *Great-Britain* for
 “ the Term of thirty Years. That the Isle
 “ of *St. Christopher's* be likewise secured to the
 “ *English*.

“ THAT the Advantages and Exemption
 “ from Duties, promised by *Monf. Mesnager*,
 “ which he affirms will amount to fifteen *per*
 “ *Cent.* upon all Goods of the Growth and
 “ Manufacture of *Great-Britain*, be effectual-
 “ ly allowed.

“ THAT whereas, on the Side of the River
 “ of *Plate*, the *English* are not in Possession of
 “ any Colony, a certain Extent of Territory
 “ be allowed them on the said River, for re-
 “ freshing and keeping their Negroes, until
 “ they are sold to the *Spaniards*; subject, ne-
 “ vertheless,

“vertheless, to the Inspection of an Officer
“appointed by *Spain*.

“EIGHTHLY, *Newfoundland*, and the Bay
“and Streights of *Hudson*, shall be entirely
“restored to the *English*; and *Great Britain*
“and *France* shall respectively keep whatever
“Dominions in *North America* each of them
“shall be in Possession of, when the Ratifica-
“tion of this Treaty shall be published in those
“Parts of the World.”

THE six first Articles were allowed without
any Difficulty, except that about *Dunkirk*,
where *France* was to have an Equivalent, to
be settled in a general Treaty.

DIFFICULTIES arising upon the seventh
Article, the proposed Equivalent was allowed
instead thereof.

THE last Article was referred to the general
Treaty of Peace, only the *French* insisted to
have the Power of fishing for Cod, and drying
them on the Island of *Newfoundland*.

THESE Articles were to be looked upon as
Conditions, which the most Christian King
consented to allow; and whenever a general
Peace

Peace should be signed, they were to be digested into the usual Form of a Treaty, to the Satisfaction of both Crowns.

THE Queen having thus provided for the Security and Advantage of Her Kingdoms, whenever a Peace should be made, and upon Terms no Way interfering with the Interest of Her Allies; the next Thing in Order was to procure from *France* such preliminary Articles, as might be a Ground upon which to commence a general Treaty. These were adjusted, and signed the same Day with the former; and, having been delivered to the several Ministers residing here from the Powers in Alliance with *England*, were quickly made publick. But the various Constructions and Censures, which passed upon them, have made it necessary to give the Reader the following Transcript :

“ The King being willing to contribute all
“ that is in his Power, to the Re-establishing
“ of the general Peace, his Majesty declares,

“ I. THAT he will acknowledge the Queen
“ of *Great-Britain* in that Quality, as also the
“ Succession of that Crown, according to the
“ present Settlement.

“ II.

“ II. THAT he will freely, and *bonâ fide*, consent to the taking of all just and reasonable Measures, for hindering that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* may ever be united on the Head of the same Prince; his Majesty being persuaded, that this Excess of Power would be contrary to the Good and Quiet of *Europe*.

“ III. The King's Intention is, that all the Parties engaged in the present War, without excepting any of them, may find their reasonable Satisfaction in the Treaty of Peace, which shall be made: That Commerce may be re-established and maintained for the future, to the Advantage of *Great-Britain*, of *Holland*, and of the other Nations, who have been accustomed to exercise Commerce.

“ IV. As the King will likewise maintain exactly the Observation of the Peace, when it shall be concluded, and the Object, which the King proposeth to himself, being to secure the Frontiers of his Kingdom, without disturbing in any Manner whatever the neighbouring States, he promiseth to agree, by the Treaty which shall be made, that the *Dutch* shall be put in Possession of the fortified Places,

“ Places, which shall be mentioned, in the
 “ *Netherlands*, to serve hereafter for a Barrier;
 “ which may secure the Quiet of the Repub-
 “ lick of *Holland* against any Enterprize from
 “ the Part of *France*.

“ V. The King consenteth likewise, that a
 “ secure and convenient Barrier should be form-
 “ ed for the Empire, and for the House of
 “ *Austria*.

“ VI. NOTWITHSTANDING *Dunkirk* cost
 “ the King very great Sums, as well to pur-
 “ chase it, as to fortify it; and that it is fur-
 “ ther necessary to be at very considerable Ex-
 “ pence for razing the Works, his Majesty is
 “ willing however to engage to cause them to
 “ be demolished, immediately after the Con-
 “ clusion of the Peace, on Condition, that, for
 “ the Fortifications of that Place, a proper
 “ Equivalent, that may content him, be given
 “ him: And, as *England* cannot furnish that
 “ Equivalent, the Discussion of it shall be re-
 “ ferred to the Conferences to be held for the
 “ Negotiation of the Peace.

“ VII. WHEN the Conferences for the Ne-
 “ gotiation of the Peace shall be formed, all
 “ the Pretensions of the Princes and States,
 “ engaged

“ engaged in the present War, shall be therein
“ discussed *bonâ fide*, and amicably : And no-
“ thing shall be omitted to regulate and termi-
“ nate them, to the Satisfaction of all the Par-
“ ties.

MESNAGER.”

THESE Overtures are founded upon the eighth Article of the grand Alliance, made in One Thousand Seven Hundred and One ; wherein are contained the Conditions, without which a Peace is not to be made ; and whoever compareth both, will find the Preliminaries to reach every Point proposed in that Article, which those who censured them at home, if they spoke their Thoughts, did not understand : For nothing can be plainer, than what the Publick hath often been told, that the Recovery of *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon* was a Thing never imagined, when the War began, but a just and reasonable Satisfaction to the Emperor. Much less ought such a Condition to be held necessary at present, not only because it is allowed on all Hands to be impracticable, but likewise because, by the Changes in the *Austrian* and *Bourbon* Families, it would not be safe : Neither did those, who were loudest in blaming the *French* Preliminaries, know any Thing of the Advantages privately stipulated for

for *Great-Britain*, whose Interests, they assured us, were all made a Sacrifice to the Corruption or Folly of the Managers; and therefore, because the Opposers of Peace have been better informed by what they have since heard and seen, they have changed their Battery, and accused the Ministers for betraying the *Dutch*.

THE Lord *Raby*, Her Majesty's Ambassador at the *Hague*, having made a short Journey to *England*, where he was created Earl of *Stratford*, went back to *Holland* about the Beginning of *October*, One thousand seven hundred and eleven, with the above Preliminaries, in order to communicate them to the Pensionary, and other Ministers of the States. The Earl was instructed to let them know, " That the
 " Queen had, according to their Desire, re-
 " turned an Answer to the first Propositions
 " signed by Monsieur *Torcy*, signifying, that
 " the *French* Offers were thought, both by
 " Her Majesty and the States, neither so par-
 " ticular nor so full as they ought to be; and
 " insisting to have a distinct Project formed
 " of such a Peace as the most Christian King
 " would be willing to conclude: That this
 " Affair having been for some Time transact-
 " ed by Papers, and thereby subject to Delays,
 " Monsieur *Mefnager* was at length sent over
 " by

“ by *France*, and had signed those Preliminaries now communicated to them : that the several Articles did not, indeed, contain such particular Concessions as *France* must and will make in the Course of a Treaty ; but that, however, Her Majesty thought them a sufficient Foundation whereupon to open the general Conferences.

“ THAT Her Majesty was unwilling to be charged with determining the several Interests of her Allies, and therefore contented herself with such general Offers as might include all the particular Demands, proper to be made during the Treaty ; where the Confederates must resolve to adhere firmly together, in order to obtain from the Enemy the utmost that could be hoped for, in the present Circumstances of Affairs ; which Rule, Her Majesty assured the States, She would, on Her Part, firmly observe.”

IF the Ministers of *Holland* should express any Uneasiness, that Her Majesty may have settled the Interests of her own Kingdoms, in a future Peace, by any private Agreement, the Ambassador was ordered to say, “ That the Queen had hitherto refused to have the Treaty carried on in her own Kingdom, and
“ would

“ would continue to do so, unless they (the
 “ *Dutch*) constrained her to take another Mea-
 “ sure : That by these Means the States, and
 “ the rest of the Allies, would have the
 “ Opportunity of treating and adjusting their
 “ different Pretensions; which Her Majesty
 “ would promote with all the Zeal she had
 “ shewn for the common Good, and the par-
 “ ticular Advantage of that Republick (as they
 “ must do Her the Justice to confess), in the
 “ whole Course of Her Reign: That the Queen
 “ had made no Stipulation for herself, which
 “ might clash with the Interests of *Holland*;
 “ and that the Articles to be inserted in a fu-
 “ ture Treaty, for the Benefit of *Great-Bri-*
 “ *tain*, were, for the most Part, such as con-
 “ tained Advantages, which must either be
 “ continued to the Enemy, or be obtained by
 “ Her Majesty ; but, however, that no Con-
 “ cession should tempt her to hearken to a
 “ Peace, unless Her good Friends and Allies
 “ the States General had all reasonable Satis-
 “ faction, as to their Trade and Barrier, as well
 “ as in all other Respects.”

AFTER these Assurances given in the Queen's
 Name, the Earl was to insinuate, “ That Her
 “ Majesty should have just Reason to be of-
 “ fended, and to think the Proceeding between
 “ Her

“ Her and the States very unequal, if they
 “ should pretend to have any further Uneasi-
 “ ness upon this Head: That being determin-
 “ ed to accept no Advantages to Herself, re-
 “ pugnant to their Interests, nor any Peace,
 “ without their reasonable Satisfaction, the
 “ Figure She had made during the whole
 “ Course of the War, and the Part She had
 “ acted, superior to any of the Allies, who
 “ were more concerned in Danger and Inter-
 “ est, might justly intitle Her to settle the
 “ Concerns of *Great-Britain*, before she would
 “ consent to a general Negotiation.”

If the States should object the Engagements
 the Queen was under, by Treaties, of making
 no Peace but in Concert with them, or the
 particular Obligations of the Barrier-Treaty,
 the Ambassador was to answer, “ That as to
 “ the former, Her Majesty had not in any
 “ Sort acted contrary thereto: That She was
 “ so far from making a Peace without their
 “ Consent, as to declare her firm Resolution
 “ not to make it without their Satisfaction;
 “ and that what had passed between *France*
 “ and her amounted to no more than an In-
 “ troduction to a general Treaty.” As to the
 latter, the Earl had Orders to represent very
 earnestly, “ How much it was even for the

“ Interest of *Holland* itself, rather to com-
 “ pound the Advantage of the Barrier-Treaty,
 “ than to insist upon the whole, which the
 “ House of *Austria*, and several other Allies,
 “ would never consent to : That nothing could
 “ be more odious to the People of *England*.
 “ than many Parts of this Treaty ; which
 “ would have raised universal Indignation,
 “ if the utmost Care had not been taken
 “ to quiet the Minds of those who were ac-
 “ quainted with the Terms of that Guaranty,
 “ and to conceal them from those who were
 “ not : That it was absolutely necessary to
 “ maintain a good Harmony between both
 “ Nations, without which it would be impos-
 “ sible at any Time to form a Strength for
 “ reducing an exorbitant Power, or preserving
 “ the Balance of *Europe* : From whence it
 “ followed, that it could not be the true Inter-
 “ est of either Country to insist upon any
 “ Conditions, which might give just Appre-
 “ hension to the other.

“ THAT *France* had proposed *Utrecht*,
 “ *Nimeguen*, *Aix*, or *Liege*, wherein to hold
 “ the general Treaty ; and Her Majesty was
 “ ready to send Her Plenipotentiaries, to which,
 “ ever of those Towns the States should ap-
 “ prove.”

If the Imperial Ministers, or those of the other Allies, should object against the Preliminaries as no sufficient Ground for opening the Conferences, and insist that *France* should consent to such Articles as were signed on the Part of the Allies in the Year One thousand seven hundred and nine, the Earl of *Strafford* was in Answer directed to insinuate, “ That the
“ *French* might have probably been brought
“ to explain themselves more particularly, had
“ they not perceived the Uneasiness, Impati-
“ ence, and Jealousy among the Allies, dure-
“ ing our Transactions with that Court.”
However, he should declare to them, in the Queen’s Name, “ That, if they were deter-
“ mined to accept of Peace upon no Terms
“ inferior to what was formerly demanded,
“ Her Majesty was ready to concur with them;
“ but would no longer bear those Dispropor-
“ tions of Expence, yearly increased upon her,
“ nor the Deficiency of the Confederates in
“ every Part of the War: That it was there-
“ fore incumbent upon them to furnish, for the
“ future, such Quotas of Ships and Forces as
“ they were now wanting in, and to increase
“ their Expence, while Her Majesty reduced
“ Her’s to a reasonable and just Proportion.”

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THAT

THAT if the Ministers of *Vienna* and *Holland* should urge their Inability upon this Head, “ the Queen insisted, “ They ought to comply with Her in War or in Peace; Her Majesty desiring nothing, as to the first, but “ what they ought to perform, and what is “ absolutely necessary: And as to the latter, “ that she had done, and would continue to “ do, the utmost in her Power towards obtaining such a Peace as might be to the Satisfaction of all her Allies.”

SOME Days after the Earl of *Strafford's* Departure to *Holland*, Monsieur *Buys*, Pensionary of *Amsterdam*, arrived here from thence with Instructions from his Masters, to treat upon the Subject of the *French* Preliminaries, and the Methods for carrying on the War. In his first Conference with a Committee of Council, he objected against all the Articles, as too general and uncertain; and against some of them, as prejudicial. He said, “ The *French* promising that Trade should be re-established “ and maintained for the future, was meant “ in order to deprive the *Dutch* of their Tariff “ of One thousand six hundred and sixty-four; for the Plenipotentiaries of that “ Crown would certainly expound the Word “ *Retablir*, to signify no more than restoring “ the

“ the Trade of the States to the Condition it
 “ was in immediately before the Commence-
 “ ment of the present War.” He said,
 “ That in the Article of *Dunkirk*, the Destruction
 “ of the Harbour was not mentioned; and
 “ that the Fortifications were only to be razed
 “ upon Condition of an Equivalent, which
 “ might occasion a Difference between Her
 “ Majesty and the States, since *Holland* would
 “ think it hard to have a Town less in their
 “ Barrier for the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; and
 “ *England* would complain to have this Thorn
 “ continue in their Side, for the Sake of
 “ giving one Town more to the *Dutch*.”

LASTLY, he objected, “ That where the
 “ *French* promised effectual Methods should
 “ be taken to prevent the Union of *France*
 “ and *Spain* under the same King, they offer-
 “ ed nothing at all for the Cession of *Spain*,
 “ which was the most important Point of the
 “ War.

“ FOR these Reasons Monsieur *Buys* hoped
 “ Her Majesty would alter Her Measures, and
 “ demand specifick Articles, upon which the
 “ Allies might debate whether they would
 “ consent to a Negotiation or no.”

THE Queen, who looked upon all these Difficulties, raised about the Method of treating, as Endeavours to wrest the Negotiation out of Her Hands, commanded the Lords of the Committee to let Monsieur *Buys* know, “ That the Experience she formerly had of
“ proceeding by particular Preliminaries towards a general Treaty gave her no Encouragement to repeat the same Method any
“ more : That such a preliminary Treaty must
“ be negotiated either by some particular Allies, or by all. The First Her Majesty
“ could never suffer, since she would neither
“ take upon Her to settle the Interests of
“ others, nor submit that others should settle
“ those of her own Kingdoms. As to the Second, it was liable to Monsieur *Buys*’s Objection, because the Ministers of *France*
“ would have as fair an Opportunity of sowing
“ Division among the Allies, when they were
“ all assembled upon a preliminary Treaty, as
“ when the Conferences were open for a Negotiation of Peace : That this Method could
“ therefore have no other Effect than to
“ delay the Treaty, without any Advantage :
“ That Her Majesty was heartily disposed,
“ both then and during the Negotiation, to
“ insist on every Thing necessary for securing
“ the Barrier and Commerce of the States ;
and

“ and therefore hoped the Conferences might
“ be opened, without farther Difficulties.

“ THAT Her Majesty did not only consent,
“ but desire to have a Plan settled for carrying
“ on the War, as soon as the Negotiation of
“ Peace should begin ; but expected to have
“ the Burthen more equally laid, and more
“ agreeable to Treaties ; and would join with
“ the States in pressing the Allies to perform
“ their Parts, as she had endeavoured to ani-
“ mate them by her Example.”

MONS. *Buys* seemed to know little of his Masters Mind, and pretended he had no Power to conclude upon any Thing. Her Majesty's Minister proposed to him an Alliance between the two Nations, to subsist after a Peace. To this he hearkened very readily, and offered to take the Matter *ad referendum*, having Authority to do no more. His Intention was, that he might appear to negotiate, in order to gain Time to pick out, if possible, the whole Secret of the Transactions between *Great-Britain* and *France* ; to disclose nothing himself, nor bind his Masters to any Conditions ; to seek Delays until the Parliament met, and then observe what Turn it took, and what would be the Issue of those frequent Cabals between himself and

and some other foreign Ministers, in Conjunction with the chief Leaders of the discontented Faction. The *Dutch* hoped, that the Clamours, raised against the Proceedings of the Queen's Ministers towards a Peace, would make the Parliament disapprove what had been done; whereby the States would be at the Head of the Negotiation, which the Queen did not think fit to have any more in their Hands, where it had miscarried twice already; although Prince *Eugene* himself owned, "that *France* " was then disposed to conclude a Peace upon " such Conditions, as *it was not worth the Life* " of a Grenadier to refuse them." As to insisting upon specifick Preliminaries, her Majesty thought her own Method much better for each Ally, in the Course of the Negotiation, to advance and manage his own Pretensions, wherein she would support and assist them, rather than for two Ministers of one Ally to treat solely with the Enemy, and report what they pleased to the rest, as was practised by the *Dutch* at *Gertruydenberg*.

ONE Part of *Monf. Buys's* Instructions was to desire the Queen not to be so far amused by a Treaty of Peace, as to neglect her Preparation for War against the next Campaign. Her Majesty, who was firmly resolved against submitting
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any longer to that unequal Burthen of Expence she had hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. Secretary *St. John* to debate the Matter with that Minister, who said he had no Power to treat; only insisted, that his Masters had fully done their Part, and that nothing but Exhortations could be used to prevail on the other Allies to act with greater Vigour.

ON the other Side, the Queen refused to concert any Plan for the Prosecution of the War, until the States would join with her in agreeing to open the Conferences of Peace; which therefore, by *Monf. Buys's* Application to them, was accordingly done, by a Resolution taken in *Holland*, upon the twenty-first of *November*, N. S. One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven.

ABOUT this Time the Count *de Gallas* was forbid the Court, by Order from the Queen, who sent him Word, that she looked upon him no longer as a publick Minister.

THIS Gentleman thought fit to act a very dishonourable Part here in *England*, altogether inconsistent with the Character he bore of Envoy from the late and present Emperors; two Princes under the strictest Ties of Gratitude to the Queen, especially the latter, who had then
the

the Title of King of *Spain*. Count *Gallas*, about the End of *August*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven, with the utmost Privacy, dispatched an *Italian*, one of his Clerks, to *Franckfort*, where the Earl of *Peterborough* was then expected. This Man was instructed to pass for a *Spaniard*, and insinuate himself into the Earl's Service; which he accordingly did, and gave constant Information to the last Emperor's Secretary at *Franckfort* of all he could gather up in his Lordship's Family, as well as Copies of several Letters he had transcribed. It was likewise discovered, that *Gallas* had, in his Dispatches to the present Emperor, then in *Spain*, represented the Queen and her Ministers as not to be confided in: That, when her Majesty had dismissed the Earl of *Sunderland*, she promised to proceed no farther in the Change of her Servants; yet soon after turned them all out, and thereby ruined the publick Credit, as well as abandoned *Spain*: That the present Ministers wanted the Abilities and good Dispositions of the former; were Persons of ill Designs, and Enemies to the common Cause, and he (*Gallas*) could not trust them. In his Letters to Count *Zinzendorf* he said, "That
" Mr. Secretary *St. John* complained of the
" House of *Austria's* Backwardness, only to
" make the King of *Spain* odious to *England*,
" and

“ and the People here desirous of a Peace, although it were ever so bad an one.” To prevent which, Count *Gallas* drew up a Memorial, which he intended to give the Queen, and transmitted a Draught of it to *Zinzendorf* for his Advice and Approbation. This Memorial, among other great Promises to encourage the Continuance of the War, proposed the detaching of a good Body of Troops from *Hungary* to serve in *Italy* or *Spain*, as the Queen should think fit. *Zinzendorf* thought this too bold a Step, without consulting the Emperor; to which *Gallas* replied, that his Design was only to engage the Queen to go on with the War; that *Zinzendorf* knew how earnestly the *English* and *Dutch* had pressed to have these Troops from *Hungary*, and therefore they ought to be promised, in order to quiet those two Nations, after which several Ways might be found to elude that Promise; and, in the mean Time, the great Point would be gained of bringing the *English* to declare for continuing the War: That the Emperor might afterwards excuse himself, by the Apprehension of a War in *Hungary*, or of that between the *Turks* and *Muscovites*; that, if these Excuses should be at an End, a Detachment of one or two Regiments might be sent, and the rest deferred, by pretending Want of Money; by which the

Queen

Queen would probably be brought to maintain some Part of those Troops, and perhaps the whole Body. He added, that this Way of Management was very common among the Allies; and gave for an Example the Forces which the *Dutch* had promised for the Service of *Spain*, but were never sent; with several other Instances of the same Kind, which he said might be produced. Her Majesty, who had long suspected that Count *Gallas* was engaged in these and the like Practices, having at last received authentick Proofs of this whole Intrigue, from original Letters, and the voluntary Confession of those who were principally concerned in carrying it on, thought it necessary to shew her Resentment, by refusing the Count any more Access to her Person or her Court.

ALTHOUGH the Queen, as it hath been already observed, were resolved to open the Conferences upon the general Preliminaries, yet she thought it would very much forward the Peace to know what were the utmost Concessions, which *France* would make to the several Allies, but especially to the States General and the Duke of *Savoy*: Therefore, while Her Majesty was pressing the former to agree to a general Treaty, the Abbé *Gualtier* was sent to *France* with a Memorial, to desire that the most Christian

istian King would explain himself upon those Preliminaries, particularly with Relation to *Savoy* and *Holland*, whose Satisfaction the Queen had most at Heart, as well from her Friendship to both these Powers, as because, if she might engage to them that their just Pretensions would be allowed, few Difficulties would remain, of any Moment, to retard the general Peace.

THE *French* Answer to this Memorial contained several Schemes and Proposals for the Satisfaction of each Ally, coming up very near to what Her Majesty and her Ministers thought reasonable. The greatest Difficulties seemed to be about the Elector of *Bavaria*, for whose Interests *France* appeared to be as much concerned, as the Queen was for those of the Duke of *Savoy*: However, those were judged not very hard to be surmounted.

THE States having at length agreed to a general Treaty, the following Particulars were concerted between Her Majesty and that Republick:

“ THAT the Congress should be held at
“ *Utrecht*.

“ THAT

“ THAT the Opening of the Congress should
“ be upon the Twelfth of *January*, N. S. One
“ Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven-twelve.

“ THAT, for avoiding all Inconveniencies of
“ Ceremony, the Ministers of the Queen and
“ States, during the Treaty, should only have
“ the Characters of Plenipotentiaries, and not
“ take that of Ambassadors, until the Day on
“ which the Peace should be signed.

“ LASTLY, The Queen and States insisted,
“ that the Ministers of the Duke of *Anjou*, and
“ the late Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*,
“ should not appear at the Congress, until the
“ Points relating to their Masters were adjusted ;
“ and were firmly resolved not to send their
“ Passports for the Ministers of *France*, until
“ the most Christian King declared, that the
“ Absence of the forementioned Ministers
“ should not delay the Progress of the Negotia-
“ tion.”

PURSUANT to the three former Articles, Her Majesty wrote circular Letters to all the Allies engaged with her in the present War : And *France* had Notice, that, as soon as the King declared his Compliance with the last Article,
the

the blank Passports should be filled up with the Names of the Marechal *D'Uxelles*, the Abbé *de Polignac*, and Monf. *Mefnager*, who were appointed Plenipotentiaries for that Crown.

FROM what I have hitherto deduced, the Reader sees the Plan which the Queen thought the most effectual for advancing a Peace. As the Conferences were to begin upon the general Preliminaries, the Queen was to be empowered by *France* to offer separately to the Allies what might be reasonable for each to accept; and, her own Interests being previously settled, she was to act as a general Mediator: A Figure that became her best, from the Part she had in the War, and more useful to the great End at which she aimed, of giving a safe and honourable Peace to *Europe*.

BESIDES, it was absolutely necessary for the Interests of *Britain*, that the Queen should be at the Head of the Negotiation, without which her Majesty could find no Expedient to redress the Injuries her Kingdoms were sure to suffer by the Barrier-Treaty. In order to settle this Point with the States, the Ministers here had a Conference with Monf. *Buys*, a few Days before the Parliament met. He was told, "how
" necessary it was, by a previous Concert be-
" tween

" tween the Emperor, the Queen, and the
 " States, to prevent any Difference which might
 " arise in the Course of the Treaty at *Utrecht* :
 " That, under Pretence of a Barrier for the
 " States General, as their Security against
 " *France*, infinite Prejudice might arise to the
 " Trade of *Great-Britain* in the *Spanish Ne-*
 " *therlands* ; for, by the fifteenth Article of the
 " Barrier-Treaty, in Consequence of what was
 " stipulated by that of *Munster*, the Queen was
 " brought to engage that Commerce shall not
 " be rendered more easy, in Point of Duties,
 " by the Sea-Ports of *Flanders*, than it is by
 " the River *Scheld*, and by the Canals on the
 " Side of the Seven Provinces, which, as Things
 " now stood, was very unjust ; for while the
 " Towns in *Flanders* were in the Hands of
 " *France* or *Spain*, the *Dutch* and we traded to
 " them upon equal Foot ; but now, since by
 " the Barrier-Treaty those Towns were to be
 " possessed by the States, that Republick might
 " lay what Duties they pleased upon *British*
 " Goods, after passing by *Ostend*, and make
 " their own Custom-free, which would utter-
 " ly ruin our whole Trade with *Flanders*."

Upon this, the Lords told Mr. *Buys* very frank-
 ly, " That, if the States expected the Queen
 " should support their Barrier, as well as their
 " Demands from *France* and the House of *Au-*
" *stria*

“ *stria* upon that Head, they ought to agree,
 “ that the Subjects of *Great-Britain* should
 “ trade as freely to all the Countries and Places
 “ which, by Virtue of any former or future
 “ Treaty, were to become the Barrier of the
 “ States, as they did in the Time of the late
 “ King *Charles* the Second of *Spain*; or as the
 “ Subjects of the States-General themselves
 “ shall do: And that it was hoped, their High
 “ Mightinesses would never scruple to rectify a
 “ Mistake so injurious to that Nation, without
 “ whose Blood and Treasure they would have
 “ had no Barrier at all.”

MONS. *Buys* had nothing to answer against
 these Objections, but said, he had already
 wrote to his Masters for further Instructions.

GREATER Difficulties occurred about settling
 what should be the Barrier to the States after a
 Peace; the Envoy insisting to have all the
 Towns that were named in the Treaty of Bar-
 rier and Succession, and the Queen's Ministers
 excepting those Towns, which, if they conti-
 nued in the Hands of the *Dutch*, would render
 the Trade of *Great Britain* to *Flanders* preca-
 rious. At length it was agreed in general, that
 the States ought to have what is really essential
 to the Security of their Barrier against *France*;

and that some amicable Expedient should be found, for removing the Fears both of *Great-Britain* and *Holland* upon this Point.

BUT at the same Time Mons. *Buys* was told,
 “ That although the Queen would certainly in-
 “ sist to obtain all those Points from *France*, in
 “ Behalf of her Allies the States, yet she hoped
 “ his Masters were too reasonable to break off
 “ the Treaty, rather than not obtain the very
 “ utmost of their Demands, which could not
 “ be settled here, unless he were fully instructed
 “ to speak and conclude upon that Subject:
 “ That her Majesty thought the best Way of
 “ securing the common Interest, and prevent-
 “ ing the Division of the Allies, by the Artifi-
 “ ces of *France*, in the Course of a long Nego-
 “ tiation, would be to concert between the
 “ Queen’s Ministers and those of the States,
 “ with a due Regard to the other Confederates,
 “ such a Plan as might amount to a safe and
 “ honourable Peace.” After which the Abbé
Polignac, who of the *French* Plenipotentiaries
 was most in the Secret of his Court, might be
 told, “ That it was in vain to amuse each other
 “ any longer; that on such Terms the Peace
 “ would be immediately concluded; and that
 “ the Conferences must cease, if those Condi-
 “ tions

" tions were not, without Delay, and with
" Expedition, granted."

A Treaty between her Majesty and the States, to subsist after a Peace, was now signed, Monsr. Buys having received full Powers to that Purpose. His Masters were desirous to have a private Article added, *sub sperati*, concerning those Terms of Peace; without the granting of which we should stipulate not to agree with the Enemy. But neither the Character of Buys, nor the Manner in which he was impowered to treat, would allow the Queen to enter into such an Engagement. The Congress likewise approaching, there was not Time to settle a Point of so great Importance. Neither, lastly, would Her Majesty be tied down by *Holland*, without previous Satisfaction upon several Articles in the Barrier-Treaty, so inconsistent with her Engagements to other Powers in the Alliance, and so injurious to her own Kingdoms.

THE Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Strafford*, having, about the Time the Parliament met, been appointed her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries for treating a general Peace, I shall here break off the Account of any further Progress made in that great Affair, until I resume it in the last Book of this History.

HISTORY

OF THE

LAST SESSION, &c.

BOOK III.

THE House of Commons seemed resolved, from the Beginning of the Session, to enquire strictly not only into all Abuses relating to the Accounts of the Army, but likewise into the several Treaties between us and our Allies, upon what Articles and Conditions they were first agreed to, and how these had been since observed. In the first Week of their Sitting, they sent an Address to the Queen, to desire that the Treaty, whereby her Majesty was obliged to furnish Forty Thousand Men, to act in Conjunction with the Forces of her

Allies

Allies in the *Low Countries*, might be laid before the House. To which the Secretary of State brought an Answer, "That Search had been made, but no Footsteps could be found of any Treaty or Convention for that Purpose." It was this unaccountable Neglect in the former Ministry, which first gave a Pretence to the Allies for lessening their Quotas, so much to the Disadvantage of Her Majesty, Her Kingdoms, and the common Cause, in the Course of the War. It had been stipulated by the grand Alliance, between the Emperor, *Great-Britain*, and the States, that these three Powers should assist each other with their whole Force, and that the several Proportions should be specified in a particular Convention. But if any such Convention were made, it was never ratified; only the Parties agreed, by common Consent, to take each a certain Share of the Burthen upon themselves, which the late King *William* communicated to the House of Commons by his Secretary of State; and which afterwards the other two Powers, observing the mighty Zeal in our Ministry for prolonging the War, eluded as they pleased.

THE Commissioners for stating the Publick Accounts of the Kingdom had, in executing their Office the preceding Summer, discovered
several

several Practices relating to the Affairs of the Army, which they drew up in a Report, and delivered to the House.

THE Commons began their Examination of the Report with a Member of their own, Mr. *Robert Walpole*, already mentioned; who, during his being Secretary at War, had received five hundred Guineas, and taken a Note for five hundred Pounds more, on account of two Contracts for Forage of the Queen's Troops quartered in *Scotland*. He endeavoured to excuse the first Contract; but had nothing to say about the second. The first appeared so plain, and so scandalous to the Commons, that they voted the Author of it guilty of a high Breach of Trust, and notorious Corruption, committed him Prisoner to the Tower, where he continued to the End of the Session, and expelled him the House. He was a Person much caressed by the Opposers of the Queen and Ministry, having been first drawn into their Party by his Indifference to any Principles, and afterwards kept steady by the Loss of his Place. His bold, forward Countenance, altogether a Stranger to that Infirmary which maketh Men bashful, joined to a Readiness of speaking in Publick, hath justly intitled him, among those of his Faction, to be a Sort of Leader of the
second

second Form. The Reader must excuse me for being so particular about one, who is otherwise altogether obscure.

ANOTHER Part of the Report concerned the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had received large Sums of Money, by Way of Gratuity, from those who were the Undertakers for providing the Army with Bread. This the Duke excused, in a Letter to the Commissioners, from the like Practice of other Generals: But that Excuse appeared to be of little Weight, and the mischievous Consequences of such a Corruption were visible enough; since the Money given by these Undertakers were but Bribes for Connivance at their indirect Dealings with the Army. And as Frauds, that begin at the Top, are apt to spread through all the subordinate Ranks of those who have any Share in the Management, and to increase as they circulate: So, in this Case, for every thousand Pounds given to the General, the Soldiers at least suffered Four-fold.

ANOTHER Article of this Report, relating to the Duke, was yet of more Importance. The greatest Part of Her Majesty's Forces in *Flanders* were mercenary Troops, hired from several Princes of *Europe*. It was found that
the

the Queen's General substracted Two and a Half *per Cent.* out of the Pay of those Troops, for his own Use, which amounted to a great annual Sum. The Duke of *Marlborough*, in his Letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the Matter, told the Commissioners, "That this Deduction was a free Gift from the Foreign Troops, which he had negotiated with them by the late King's Orders, and had obtained the Queen's Warrant for reserving and receiving it: That it was intended for secret Service, the Ten Thousand Pounds a Year given by Parliament not proving sufficient, and had all been laid out that Way." The Commissioners observed, in Answer, "That the Warrant was kept dormant for nine Years, as indeed no Entry of it appeared in the Secretary of State's Books, and the Deduction of it concealed all that Time from the Knowledge of Parliament: That, if it had been a free Gift from the Foreign Troops, it would not have been stipulated by Agreement, as the Duke's Letter confessed, and as his Warrant declared, which latter affirmed this Stoppage to be intended for defraying extraordinary contingent Expences of the Troops, and therefore should not have been applied to secret Services." They submitted to the House, whether

ther the Warrant itself were legal, or duly counter-signed. The Commissioners added,
 “ That no Receipt was ever given for this de-
 “ ducted Money, nor was it mentioned in any
 “ Receipts from the Foreign Troops, which
 “ were always taken in full. And lastly, That
 “ the whole Sum, on Computation, amount-
 “ ed to near Three Hundred Thousand
 “ Pounds.”

THE House, after a long Debate, resolved,
 “ That the taking of several Sums from the
 “ Contractors for Bread by the Duke of *Marl-*
 “ *borough*, was unwarrantable and illegal; and
 “ that the Two and a Half *per Cent.* deduct-
 “ ed from the Foreign Troops was Publick
 “ Money, and ought to be accounted for:”
 Which Resolutions were laid before the Queen
 by the whole House, and her Majesty promised
 to do her Part in redressing what was com-
 plained of.

THE Duke and his Friends had, about the
 Beginning of the War, by their Credit with
 the Queen, procured a Warrant from Her Ma-
 jesty for this Perquisite of Two and a Half
per Cent. The Warrant was directed to the
 Duke of *Marlborough*, and Counter-signed by
 Sir *Charles Hedges*, then Secretary of State; by

Virtue

Virtue of which the Paymaster-General of the Army was to pay the said deducted Money to the General, and take a Receipt in full from the Foreign Troops.

It was observed, as very commendable, and becoming the Dignity of such an Assembly, that this Debate was managed with great Temper, and with few personal Reflections upon the Duke of *Marlborough*. They seemed only desirous to come at the Truth, without which they could not answer the Trust reposed in them by those whom they represented, and left the rest to her Majesty's Prudence. The Attorney-General was ordered to commence an Action against the Duke for the substracted Money, which would have amounted to a great Sum, enough to ruin any private Person, except himself. This Process is still depending, although very moderately pursued, either by the Queen's Indulgence to one whom she had formerly so much trusted, or perhaps to be revived or slackened, according to the future De-meanour of the Defendant.

Some Time after, *Monf. Cardonell*, a Member of Parliament, and Secretary to the General in *Flanders*, was expelled the House, for the Offence of receiving yearly Bribes from those

those who had contracted to furnish Bread for the Army; and met with no further Punishment for a Practice, voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.

THESE were all the Censures of any Moment which the Commons, under so great a Weight of Business, thought fit to make, upon the Reports of their Commissioners for inspecting the publick Accounts. But having promised, in the Beginning of this History, to examine the State of the Nation, with Respect to its Debts; by what Negligence or Corruption they first began, and in Process of Time made such a prodigious Increase; and, lastly, what Courses have been taken, under the present Administration, to find out Funds for answering so many unprovided Incumbrances, as well as put a Stop to new Ones; I shall endeavour to satisfy the Reader upon this important Article.

By all I have yet read of the History of our own Country, it appears to me, that the National Debts, secured upon parliamentary Funds of Interest, were Things unknown in *England* before the last Revolution under the Prince of *Orange*. It is true, that in the grand Rebellion the King's Enemies borrowed Money of particular

cular Persons, upon what they called the Publick Faith; but this was only for short Periods, and the Sums no more than what they could pay at once, as they constantly did. Some of our Kings have been very profuse in Peace and War, and are blamed in History for their Oppressions of the People by severe Taxes, and for borrowing Money which they never paid: But National Debts was a Style, which, I doubt, would hardly then be understood. When the Prince of *Orange* was raised to the Throne, and a general War began in these Parts of *Europe*, the King and his Counsellors thought it would be ill Policy to commence his Reign with heavy Taxes upon the People, who had lived long in Ease and Plenty, and might be apt to think their Deliverance too dearly bought: Wherefore, one of the first Actions of the new Government was to take off the Tax upon Chimnies, as a Burthen very ungrateful to the Commonalty. But Money being wanted to support the War (which even the Convention-Parliament, that put the Crown upon his Head, were very unwilling he should engage in), the present Bishop of *Salisbury* * is said to have found out that Expedient (which he had learned in *Holland*) of raising Money upon the Securities of Taxes, that were only sufficient to pay

* Dr. GILBERT BURNET.

pay a large Interest. The Motives which prevailed on People to fall in with this Project were many, and plausible; for supposing, as the Ministers industriously gave out, that the War could not last above one or two Campaigns at most, it might be carried on with very moderate Taxes; and the Debts accruing would, in Process of Time, be easily cleared after a Peace. Then the Bait of large Interest would draw in a great Number of those whose Money, by the Dangers and Difficulties of Trade, lay dead upon their Hands; and whoever were Lenders to the Government, would, by surest Principle, be obliged to support it. Besides, the Men of Estates could not be persuaded, without Time and Difficulty, to have those Taxes laid on their Lands, which Custom hath since made so familiar; and it was the Business of such as were then in Power to cultivate a moneyed Interest; because the Gentry of the Kingdom did not very much relish those new Notions in Government to which the King, who had imbibed his Politicks in his own Country, was thought to give too much Way. Neither perhaps did that Prince think national Incumbrances to be any Evil at all, since the flourishing Republick, where he was born, is thought to owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember, when I
mentioned

mentioned to *Monf. Buys*: the many Millions we owed, he would advance it as a Maxim, that it was for the Interest of the Publick to be in Debt; which perhaps may be true in a Commonwealth so crazily instituted, where the Governors cannot have too many Pledges of their Subjects Fidelity, and where a great Majority must inevitably be undone by any Revolution, however brought about: But to prescribe the same Rules to a Monarchy, whose Wealth ariseth from the Rents and Improvements of Lands, as well as Trade and Manufactures, is the Mark of a confined and cramped Understanding.

I WAS moved to speak thus, because I am very well satisfied, that the pernicious Counsels of borrowing Money upon publick Funds of Interest, as well as some other State-Lessons, were taken indigested from the like Practices among the *Dutch*, without allowing in the least for any Difference in Government, Religion, Law, Custom, Extent of Country, or Manners and Dispositions of the People.

BUT when this Expedient of Anticipations and Mortgages was first put in Practice, artful Men, in Office and Credit, began to consider what Uses it might be applied to; and soon found

it

it was likely to prove the most fruitful Seminary, not only to establish a Faction they intended to set up for their own Support, but likewise to raise vast Wealth for themselves in particular, who were to be the Managers and Directors in it. It was manifest, that nothing could promote these two Designs so much, as burthening the Nation with Debts, and giving Encouragement to Lenders: For, as to the first, it was not to be doubted, that moneyed Men would be always firm to the Party of those who advised the borrowing upon such good Security, and with such exorbitant Premiums and Interest; and every new Sum that was lent took away as much Power from the landed Men, as it added to theirs: So that the deeper the Kingdom was engaged, it was still the better for them. Thus a new Estate and Property sprung up in the Hands of Mortgagees, to whom every House and Foot of Land in *England* paid a Rent-charge, free of all Taxes and Defalcations, and purchased at less than half Value: So that the Gentlemen of Estates were, in Effect, but Tenants to these new Landlords; many of whom were able, in Time, to force the Election of Boroughs out of the Hands of those who had been the old Proprietors and Inhabitants. This was arrived to such a Height, that a very few Years more of War
and

and Funds would have clearly cast the Balance on the moneyed Side.

As to the second, this Project of borrowing upon Funds was of mighty Advantage to those who were in the Management of it, as well as to their Friends and Dependants; for, Funds proving often deficient, the Government was obliged to strike Tallies for making up the rest, which Tallies were sometimes (to speak in the Merchants Phrase) at above Forty *per Cent.* Discount. At this Price those who were in the Secret bought them up, and then took Care to have that Deficiency supplied in the next Session of Parliament, by which they doubled their Principal in a few Months; and, for the Encouragement of Lenders, every new Project of Lotteries or Annuities proposed some farther Advantage, either as to Interest or Premium.

In the Year One Thousand six Hundred and Ninety-seven, a general Mortgage was made of certain Revenues and Taxes already settled, which amounted to near a Million a Year. This Mortgage was to continue till One Thousand Seven Hundred and Six, to be a Fund for the Payment of about five Millions one hundred Thousand Pounds. In the first Parliament

of

of the Queen, the said Mortgage was continued till One Thousand seven Hundred and Ten, to supply a Deficiency of two Millions three Hundred Thousand Pounds, and Interest of above a Million; and in the intermediate Years a great Part of that Fund was branched out into Annuities for ninety-nine Years; so that the late Ministry raised all their Money to One Thousand seven Hundred and Ten, only by continuing Funds which were already granted to their Hands. This deceived the People in general, who were satisfied to continue the Payments they had been accustomed to, and made the Administration seem easy, since the War went on without any new Taxes raised, except the very last Year they were in Power; not considering what a mighty Fund was exhausted, and must be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to Trade, and to the true Interest of the Nation.

THIS great Fund of the general Mortgage was not only loaded, Year after Year, by mighty Sums borrowed upon it, but with the Interests due upon those Sums; for which the Treasury was forced to strike Tallies, payable out of that Fund, after all the Money already borrowed upon it, there being no other Provision of Interest for three or four Years: Till

at last the Fund was so overloaded, that it could neither pay Principal nor Interest, and Tallies were struck for both, which occasioned their great Discount.

BUT to avoid Mistakes upon a Subject, where I am not very well versed either in the Style or Matter, I will transcribe an Account sent me by a Person * who is thoroughly instructed in these Affairs.

“ IN the Year One Thousand seven Hundred
 “ and Seven, the Sum of eight Hundred twenty-
 “ two Thousand three Hundred and Eighty-
 “ one Pounds, fifteen Shillings and Six-pence,
 “ was raised, by continuing Part of the gene-
 “ ral Mortgage from One Thousand seven
 “ Hundred and Ten, to One Thousand seven
 “ Hundred and Twelve; but with no Provi-
 “ sion of Interest till *August* the first, One
 “ Thousand seven Hundred and Ten, other-
 “ wise than by striking Tallies for it on that
 “ Fund, payable after all the other Money
 “ borrowed.

IN One Thousand seven Hundred and Eight,
 “ the same Funds were continued from One
 “ Thousand Seven Hundred and Twelve, to
 One

* Sir JOHN BLUNT.

“ One Thousand seven Hundred and Four-
“ teen, to raise seven Hundred twenty-nine
“ Thousand sixty-seven Pound fifteen Shillings
“ and Six-pence; but no Provision for Interest
“ till *August* the First, One Thousand seven
“ Hundred and Twelve, otherwise than as be-
“ fore, by striking the Tallies for it on the
“ same Fund, payable after all the rest of the
“ Money borrowed. And the Discount of
“ Tallies then beginning to rise, great Part of
“ that Money remains still unraised; and there
“ is still nothing to pay Interest for the Money
“ lent, till *August* the First, One Thousand se-
“ ven Hundred and Twelve. But the late
“ Lord Treasurer struck Tallies for the full
“ Sum directed by the Act to be borrowed,
“ great Part of which have been delivered in
“ Payment to the Navy and Victualling-Offices,
“ and some are still in the Hands of the Go-
“ vernment.

“ IN One Thousand seven Hundred and
“ Nine, part of the same Fund was continued
“ from *August* the First, One Thousand seven
“ Hundred and Fourteen, to *August* the First,
“ One Thousand seven Hundred and Sixteen,
“ to raise six Hundred forty-five Thousand
“ Pounds; and no Provision for Interest till
“ *August* the First, one Thousand seven Hun-

“dred and Fourteen (which was above five
“Years,) but by borrowing Money on the
“same Fund, payable for the Sums before
“lent; so that little of that Money was lent.
“But the Tallies were struck for what was
“unlent, some of which were given out for
“the Payment of the Navy and Victualling,
“and some still remain in the Hands of the
“Government.

“IN One Thousand seven Hundred and
“Ten, the Sums, which were before given
“from One Thousand seven Hundred and
“Fourteen, to One Thousand seven Hundred
“and Sixteen, were continued from thence to
“One Thousand seven Hundred and Twenty,
“to raise one Million two Hundred ninety-six
“Thousand five Hundred and fifty-two Pounds
“nine Shillings and eleven Pence three Farth-
“ings; and no Provision for Interest till *Aug-*
“*ust* the first, One Thousand seven Hundred
“and Sixteen, only, after the Duty of one Shil-
“ling *per* Bushel on Salt should be cleared
“from the Money it was then charged with,
“and which was not so cleared till *Midsum-*
“*mer*, One Thousand seven Hundred and
“twelve last, then that Fund was to be ap-
“plied to pay the Interest till *August* the First,
“One Thousand seven Hundred and Sixteen,
“which

“ which Interest amounted to about Seventy-se-
“ ven Thousand seven Hundred and ninety-three
“ Pounds *per Annum*: And the said Salt Fund
“ produceth but about fifty-five Thousand
“ Pounds *per Annum*; so that no Money was
“ borrowed upon the general Mortgage in One
“ Thousand seven Hundred and Ten, except
“ one Hundred and fifty Thousand Pounds
“ lent by the *Swiss* Cantons; but Tallies were
“ struck for the whole Sum. These all re-
“ mained in the late Treasurer’s Hands at the
“ Time of his Removal, yet the Money was
“ expended, which occasioned those great De-
“ mands upon the Commissioners of the Trea-
“ sury who succeeded him, and were forced
“ to pawn those Tallies to the Bank, or to
“ Remitters, rather than sell them at Twenty
“ or Twenty-five *per Cent.* Discount, as the
“ Price then was. About two Hundred Thou-
“ sand Pounds of them they paid to Clothiers
“ of the Army, and others; and all the rest,
“ being above Ninety Thousand Pounds, have
“ been subscribed into the South-sea Company
“ for the Use of the Publick,”

WHEN the Earl of Godolphin was removed from his Employment, he left a Debt upon the Navy of Millions, all contracted under

der his Administration, which had no Parliament-Security, and was daily increased. Neither could I ever learn, whether that Lord had the smallest Prospect of clearing this Incumbrance, or whether there were Policy, Negligence, or Despair at the Bottom of this unaccountable Management. But the Consequences were visible and ruinous; for by this Means Navy-Bills grew to be Forty *per Cent.* Discount, and upwards; and almost every Kind of Stores, bought by the Navy and Victualling-Offices, cost the Government double Rates, and sometimes more: So that the Publick hath directly lost several Millions upon this one Article, without any Sort of Necessity, that I could ever hear assigned by the ablest Vindicators of that Party.

IN this oppressed and intangled State was the Kingdom with Relation to its Debts, when the Queen removed the Earl of *Godolphin* from his Office, and put it into Commission, of which the present Treasurer was one. This Person had been chosen Speaker successively to three Parliaments, was afterwards Secretary of State, and always in great Esteem with the Queen for his Wisdom and Fidelity. The late Ministry, about two Years before their Fall, had prevailed with Her Majesty, much against her Inclination, to dismiss him from Her Service; for which
they

they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured the same Thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary that he should succeed in a second Attempt against those very Adversaries, who had such fair Warning by the first. He is firm and steady in his Resolutions, not easily diverted from them, after he hath once possessed himself of an Opinion that they are right, nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by Experience, that a Secret is seldom safe in more than one Breast. That which occurs to other Men after mature Deliberation, offereth to him as his first Thoughts; so that he decideth immediately what is best to be done, and therefore is seldom at a Loss upon sudden Exigencies. He thinks it a more easy and safe Rule in Politicks to watch Incidents as they come, and then turn them to the Advantage of what he pursues, than pretend to foresee them at a great Distance. Fear, Cruelty, Avarice, and Pride, are wholly Strangers to his Nature; but he is not without Ambition. There is one Thing peculiar in his Temper, which I altogether disapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other Man's Character: I mean, an easiness and Indifference under any Imputation, although he be never so innocent, and although the strongest Probabilities and Appearance

pearances are against him; so that I have known him often suspected by his nearest Friends, for some Months, in Points of the highest Importance, to a Degree, that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by Time and Accident. His Detractors, who charge him with Cunning, are but ill acquainted with his Character; for, in the Sense they take the Word, and as it is usually understood, I know no Man to whom that mean Talent could be with less Justice applied, as the Conduct of Affairs, while he hath been at the Helm, doth clearly demonstrate, very contrary to the Nature and Principles of Cunning, which is always employed in serving little Turns, proposing little Ends, and supplying daily Exigencies by little Shifts and Expedients. But to rescue a Prince out of the Hands of insolent Subjects, bent upon such Designs as must probably end in the Ruin of the Government; to find out Means for paying such exorbitant Debts as this Nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better Management; to make a potent Enemy offer advantageous Terms of Peace, and deliver up the most important Fortrefs of his Kingdom, as a Security; and this against all the Opposition, mutually raised and inflamed by Parties and Allies; such Performances can only be called Cunning by those whose Want of Understanding, or of Candour,

Candour, puts them upon finding ill Names for great Qualities of the Mind, which themselves do neither possess, nor can form any just Conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate Love of Secrecy in this Minister seemeth, at Distance, to have some Resemblance of Cunning; for he is not only very retentive of Secrets, but appeareth to be so too, which I number amongst his Defects. He hath been blamed by his Friends for refusing to discover his Intentions, even in those Points where the wisest Man may have need of Advice and Assistance; and some have censured him, upon that Account, as if he were jealous of Power: But he hath been heard to answer, "That he seldom did otherwise, without Cause to repent."

HOWEVER, so undistinguished a Caution cannot, in my Opinion, be justified, by which the Owner loseth many Advantages, and whereof all Men, who deserved to be confided in, may with some Reason complain. His Love of Procrastination (wherein doubtless Nature hath her Share) may probably be increased by the same Means; but this is an Imputation laid upon many other great Ministers, who, like Men under too heavy a Load, let fall that which is of the least Consequence, and go back to fetch it

it when their Shoulders are free; for Time is often gained, as well as lost, by Delay, which at worst is a Fault on the securer Side. Neither probably is this Minister answerable for Half the Clamour raised against him upon that Article: His Endeavours are wholly turned upon the general Welfare of his Country, but perhaps with too little Regard to that of particular Persons, which rendereth him less amiable, than he would otherwise have been from the Goodness of his Humour, and agreeable Conversation in a private Capacity, and with few Dependents. Yet some Allowance may perhaps be given to this Failing, which is one of the greatest he hath, since he cannot be more careless of other Men's Fortunes than he is of his own. He is Master of a very great and faithful Memory, which is of mighty use in the Management of publick Affairs; and I believe there are few Examples to be produced, in any Age, of a Person who hath passed through so many Employments in the State, endowed with a greater Share both of divine and human Learning.

I AM persuaded that Foreigners, as well as those at Home, who live too remote from the Scene of Business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this Account of a Person, who, in the Space of two Years, hath been so
highly

highly instrumental in changing the Face of Affairs in *Europe*, and hath deserved so well of his own Prince and Country.

IN that perplexed Condition of the Publick Debts, which I have already described, this Minister was brought into the Treasury and Exchequer, and had the chief Direction of Affairs. His first Regulation was that of Exchequer Bills, which to the great Discouragement of publick Credit, and Scandal to the Crown, were three *per Cent.* less in Value than the Sums specified in them. The present Treasurer, being then Chancellor of the Exchequer, procured an Act of Parliament, by which the Bank of *England* should be obliged, in Consideration of Forty-five Thousand Pounds, to accept and circulate those Bills without any Discount. He then proceeded to stop the Depredations of those who dealt in Remittances of Money to the Army, who, by unheard-of Exactions in that Kind of Traffick, had amassed prodigious Wealth at the publick Cost, to which the Earl of *Godolphin* had given too much Way, * *possibly by Neglect; for I think he cannot be accused of Corruption.*

BUT

* Added in the Author's own Hand Writing.

BUT the new Treasurer's chief Concern was to restore the Credit of the Nation, by finding some Settlement for unprovided Debts, amounting in the Whole to ten Millions, which hung on the Publick as a Load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any Prospect of being removed, and which former Ministers never had the Care or Courage to inspect. He resolved to go at once to the Bottom of this Evil ; and having computed and summed up the Debt of the Navy, and Victualling, Ordinance, and Transport of the Army, and Transport Debentures made out for the Service of the last War, of the general Mortgage-Tallies for the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ten, and some other Deficiencies, he then found out a Fund of Interest sufficient to answer all this, which, being applied to other Uses, could not raise present Money for the War, but in a very few Years would clear the Debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing Interest was to be paid by the Treasurer of the Navy ; and, as a farther Advantage to the Creditors, they should be erected into a Company for trading to the South-Seas, and for Encouragement of Fishery. When all this was fully prepared and digested, he made a Motion in the House of Commons (who deferred extremely to his Judgment

Judgment and Abilities) for paying the Debts of the Navy, and other unprovided Deficiencies, without entering into Particulars, which was immediately voted. But a sudden Stop was put to this Affair by an unforeseen Accident. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (which was then his Title) being stabbed with a Penknife, the following Day, at the Cockpit, in the Midst of a dozen Lords of the Council, by the *Sieur de Guiscard*, a *French* Papist; the Circumstances of which Fact being not within the Compass of this History, I shall only observe, that after two Months Confinement, and frequent Danger of his Life, he returned to his Seat in Parliament *.

THE Overtures made by this Minister of paying so vast a Debt, under the Pressures of a long War, and the Difficulty of finding Supplies for continuing it, was, during the Time of his Illness, ridiculed by his Enemies as an impracticable and visionary Project: And when, upon his Return to the House, he had explained his Proposal, the very Proprietors of the Debt were, many of them, prevailed on to oppose it; although the obtaining of this Trade, either through *Old Spain*, or directly to the *Spanish* West-Indies, had been one principal
End

* See the particular Account in the Examiner.

End we aimed at by this War. However, the Bill passed; and, as an immediate Consequence, the Naval Bills rose to about Twenty *per Cent.* nor ever fell within Ten of their Discount. Another good Effect of this Work appeared by the Parliamentary Lotteries, which have been since erected. The last of that Kind, under the former Ministry, was eleven Weeks in filling; whereas the first, under the present, was filled in a very few Hours, although it cost the Government less; and the others, which followed, were full before the Acts concerning them could pass.

AND, to prevent Incumbrances of this Kind from growing for the future, he took Care, by the utmost Parsimony, or by suspending Payments, where they seemed less to press, that all Stores for the Navy should be bought with ready Money; by which *Cent. per Cent.* hath been saved in that mighty Article of our Expence, as will appear from an Account taken at the Victualling Office, on the Ninth of *August*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twelve. And the Payment of the Interest was less a Burthen upon the Navy, by the Stores being bought at so cheap a Rate.

It

IT might look invidious to enter into farther Particulars upon this Head, but of smaller Moment. What I have above related may serve to shew in how ill a Condition the Kingdom stood, with relation to its Debts, by the Corruption as well as Negligence of former Management; and what prudent, effectual Measures have since been taken to provide for old Incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be sufficient for the Information of the Reader, perhaps already tired with a Subject so little entertaining as that of Accounts: I shall therefore now return to relate some of the principal Matters that passed in Parliament, during this Session.

UPON the Eighteenth of *January* the House of Lords sent down a Bill to the Commons, for fixing the Precedence of the *Hanover* Family, which probably had been forgot in the Acts for settling the Succession of the Crown. That of *Henry VIII.* which gives the Rank to Princes of the Blood, carries it no farther than to Nephews, Nieces, and Grand-children of the Crown; by Virtue of which the Princess *Sophia* is a Princess of the Blood, as Niece to King *Charles I. of England*, and precedeth accordingly; but this Privilege doth not descend to

to her Son the Elector, or the Electoral Prince. To supply which Defect, and pay a Compliment to the presumptive Heirs of the Crown, this Bill, as appeareth by the Preamble, was recommended by her Majesty to the House of Lords; which the Commons, to shew their Zeal for every Thing that might be thought to concern the Interest or Honour of that illustrious Family, ordered to be read thrice, and passed *Nemine Contradicente*, and returned to the Lords, without any Amendment, on the very Day it was sent down.

BUT the House seemed to have nothing more at Heart than a strict Inquiry into the State of the Nation, with respect to foreign Alliances. Some Discourses had been published in Print about the Beginning of the Session, boldly complaining of certain Articles in the Barrier-Treaty, concluded about three Years since by the Lord Viscount *Townsend*, between *Great-Britain* and the States-General; and shewing, in many particulars, the unequal Conduct of these Powers in our Alliance, in furnishing their Quotas and Supplies. It was asserted by the same Writers, " That these Hardships, " put upon *England*, had been countenanced " and encouraged by a Party here at Home, " in order to preserve their Power, which " could be no otherwise maintained than by " con-

“ continuing the War, as well as by her Majesty’s General abroad, upon Account of his own peculiar Interest and Grandeur.” These loud Accusations spreading themselves throughout the Kingdom, delivered in Facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had sufficiently prepared the Minds of the People; and, by putting Arguments into every Body’s Mouth, had filled the Town and Country with Controversies, both in Writing and Discourse. The Point appeared to be of great Consequence, whether the War continued or not: For, in the former Case, it was necessary that the Allies should be brought to a more equal Regulation; and that the States in particular, for whom Her Majesty had done such great Things, should explain and correct those Articles in the Barrier Treaty, which were prejudicial to *Great-Britain*; and, in either Case, it was fit the People should have at least the Satisfaction of knowing by whose Counsels, and for what Designs, they had been so hardly treated.

IN order to this great Inquiry, the Barrier-Treaty, with all other Treaties and Agreements entered into between Her Majesty and Her Allies, during the present War, for the raising and augmenting the Proportions for the Service thereof, were, by the Queen’s Directions, laid before the House.

SEVERAL Resolutions were drawn up, and reported at differet Times, upon the Deficiencies of the Allies in furnishing their Quotas, upon certain Articles in the Barrier-Treaty, and upon the State of the War; by all which it appeared, that whatever had been charged by publick Discourses in Print against the late Ministry, and the Conduct of the Allies, was much less than the Truth. Upon these Resolutions (by one of which the Lord Viscount *Townsend*, who negotiated and signed the Barrier-Treaty, was declared an Enemy to the Queen and Kingdom), and, upon some farther Directions to the Committee, a Representation was formed; and soon after the Commons in a Body presented it to the Queen, the Endeavours of the adverse Party not prevailing to have it recommitted.

THIS Representation (supposed to be the Work of Sir * *Thomas Hanmer's* Pen) is written with much Energy and Spirit, and will be a very useful authentick Record, for the Assistance of those who at any Time shall undertake

* Chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, *Feb.* 18, O. S. 1713. He was a fine Orator, a great Scholar; corrected the Text of *Shakespeare's* Works, writ Notes in the Plays, printed a most elegant Edition in Quarto, with Cutts, by Subscription, at *Oxford*, and not one Set more printed than was subscribed for, which makes this Edition bear a very high Price.

dertake to write the History of the present Times.

I DID intend, for brevity Sake, to have given the Reader only an Abstract of it; but, upon Trial, found myself unequal to such a Task, without injuring so excellent a Piece. And although I think historical Relations are but ill patched up with long Transcripts already printed, which, upon that Account, I have hitherto avoided; yet, this being the Sum of all the Debates and Resolutions of the House of Commons in that great Affair of the War, I conceive it could not be well omitted.

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ WE Your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal
“ Subjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain* in
“ Parliament assembled, having nothing so
“ much at Heart, as to enable Your Majesty to
“ bring this long and expensive War to an honourable and happy Conclusion, have taken it
“ into our most serious Consideration, how the
“ necessary Supplies to be provided by us may
“ be best applied, and how the common Cause
“ may in the most effectual Manner be carried
“ on, by the united Force of the whole Confederacy; we have thought ourselves obliged,
“ in Duty to your Majesty, and in Discharge
“ of the Trust reposed in us, to inquire into

“ the true State of the War, in all its Parts.
“ We have examined what Stipulations have
“ been entered into between Your Maje-
“ sty and Your Allies; and how far such
“ Engagements have on each Side been
“ made good. We have considered the dif-
“ ferent Interests which the Confederates have
“ in the Success of this War, and the differ-
“ ent Shares they have contributed to its Sup-
“ port: We have with our utmost Care and
“ Diligence endeavoured to discover the Na-
“ ture, Extent, and Charge of it, to the
“ End, that by comparing the Weight there-
“ of with our own Strength, we might adapt
“ the one to the other in such Measure, as nei-
“ ther to continue Your Majesty’s Subjects
“ under a heavier Burthen, than in Rea-
“ son and Justice they ought to bear; nor de-
“ ceive Your Majesty, Your Allies, and our-
“ selves, by undertaking more than the Na-
“ tion in its present Circumstances is able to
“ perform.

“ YOUR Majesty hath been graciously pleased,
“ upon our humble Applications, to order such
“ Materials to be laid before us, as have fur-
“ nished us with the necessary Information
“ upon the Particulars we have inquired into;
“ and when we shall have laid before Your
“ Majesty our Observations, and humble Ad-

“ vice

“ vice upon this Subject, we promise to ourselves
 “ this happy Fruit from it, that if Your Ma-
 “ jesty’s generous and good Purposes, for the
 “ procuring a safe and lasting Peace, should,
 “ through the Obstinacy of the Enemy, or
 “ by any other Means, be unhappily defeated,
 “ a true Knowledge and Understanding of the
 “ past Conduct of the War will be the best
 “ Foundation for a more frugal and equal
 “ Management of it for the Time to come.

“ In order to take the more perfect View
 “ of what we proposed, and that we might
 “ be able to set the whole before Your Maje-
 “ sty in a true Light, we have thought it ne-
 “ cessary to go back to the Beginning of the
 “ War, and beg Leave to observe the Motives
 “ and Reasons, upon which His late Majesty
 “ King WILLIAM first engaged in it. The
 “ Treaty of the Grand Alliance explains
 “ those Reasons to be for the Supporting the
 “ Pretensions of his Imperial Majesty, then,
 “ actually engaged in a War with the *French*
 “ King, who had usurped the intire *Spanish*
 “ Monarchy for his Grandson the Duke of
 “ *Anjou*; and for the assisting the States-Ge-
 “ neral, who, by the Loss of their Barrier
 “ against *France*, were then in the same, or a
 “ more dangerous Condition, than if they
 “ were

“ were actually invaded. As these were the
“ just and necessary Motives for undertaking
“ this War, so the Ends, proposed to be ob-
“ tained by it, were equally wise and honour-
“ able ; for, as they are set forth in the eighth
“ Article of the same Treaty, they appear to
“ have been *the procuring an equitable and rea-*
“ *sonable Satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty,*
“ *and sufficient Securities for the Dominions,*
“ *Provinces, Navigation, and Commerce of the*
“ *King of Great-Britain, and the States Ge-*
“ *neral, and the making effectual Provision,*
“ *that the two Kingdoms of France and Spain*
“ *should never be united under the same Govern-*
“ *ment ;* and particularly, that the French
“ should never get into the Possession of the
“ *Spanish West-Indies,* or be permitted to sail
“ thither, upon the Account of Traffick, or
“ under any Pretence whatsoever ; and lastly,
“ the securing to the Subjects of the King of
“ *Great-Britain,* and the States-General, all the
“ same Privileges, and Rights of Commerce,
“ throughout the whole Dominions of *Spain,*
“ as they enjoyed before the Death of CHARLES
“ the II^d. King of *Spain,* by Virtue of any
“ Treaty, Agreement, or Custom, or any
“ other Way whatsoever. For the obtaining
“ these Ends, the three confederated Powers
“ engaged to assist one another with their whole
“ Force,

“ Force, according to such Proportions as
 “ should be specified in a particular Conventi-
 “ on, afterwards to be made for that Purpose:
 “ We do not find that any such Convention
 “ was ever ratified; but it appears, that there
 “ was an Agreement concluded, which, by
 “ common Consent, was understood to be
 “ binding upon each Party respectively, and
 “ according to which the Proportions of *Great-*
 “ *Britain* were from the Beginning regulated
 “ and founded. The Terms of that Agree-
 “ ment were, That, for the Service at Land,
 “ his Imperial Majesty should furnish ninety
 “ thousand Men, the King of *Great-Britain*
 “ forty thousand, and the States General one
 “ hundred and two thousand, of which there
 “ were forty thousand intended to supply their
 “ Garrisons, and sixty thousand to act against
 “ the common Enemy in the Field; and with
 “ regard to the Operations of the War at Sea,
 “ they were agreed to be performed jointly by
 “ *Great-Britain* and the States-General, the
 “ Quota of Ships to be furnished for that Ser-
 “ vice being five eighths on the Part of *Great-*
 “ *Britain*, and three eighths on the Part of the
 “ States General.

“ UPON this Foot the War began in the
 “ Year One thousand seven hundred and two,
 “ at

“ at which Time the whole yearly Expence
“ of it to *England* amounted to three Millions,
“ seven hundred, and six thousand four
“ hundred ninety-four Pounds; a very great
“ Charge, as it was then thought by Your
“ Majesty’s Subjects, after the short Interval
“ of Ease they had enjoyed from the Burden
“ of the former War, but yet a very mode-
“ rate Proportion, in Comparison with the
“ Load which hath since been laid upon them:
“ For it appears, by Estimates given in to your
“ Commons, that the Sums necessary to carry
“ on the Service for this present Year, in the
“ same Manner as it was performed the last
“ Year, amount to more than six Millions
“ nine hundred and sixty thousand Pounds,
“ besides Interest for the publick Debts, and
“ the Deficiencies accruing the last Year,
“ which two Articles require one Million one
“ hundred and forty-three thousand Pounds
“ more: So that the whole Demands upon
“ Your Commons are arisen to more than
“ eight millions for the present Annual Sup-
“ ply. We know Your Majesty’s tender Re-
“ gard for the Welfare of Your People will
“ make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a
“ Pressure as this upon them; and as we are
“ assured, it will fully convince Your Majesty
“ of the Necessity of our present Inquiry; so

“ we beg Leave to represent to You, from
“ what Causes, and by what Steps, this im-
“ mense Charge appeareth to have grown up-
“ on us,

“ THE Service at Sea, as it hath been very
“ large and extensive in itself, so it hath been
“ carried on, through the whole Course of
“ the War, in a Manner highly disadvantage-
“ ous to Your Majesty and Your Kingdom :
“ For the Necessity of Affairs requiring that
“ great Fleets should be fitted out every Year,
“ as well for the maintaining a Superiority in
“ the *Mediterranean*, as for opposing any Force
“ which the Enemy might prepare, either at
“ *Dunkirk*, or in the Ports of *West France*,
“ Your Majesty's Example and Readiness in
“ fitting out your Proportion of Ships, for all
“ Parts of that Service, have been so far from
“ prevailing with the States-General to keep
“ Pace with You, that they have been deficient
“ every Year to a great Degree, in Proportion
“ to what Your Majesty hath furnished; some-
“ times no less than Two-thirds, and generally
“ more than half of their Quota : From hence
“ Your Majesty hath been obliged, for the pre-
“ venting Disappointments in the most pressing
“ Service, to supply those Deficiencies by ad-
“ ditional Reinforcements of your own Ships ;
“ nor

“ nor hath the single Increase of such a Charge
“ been the only ill Consequence that attended
“ it; for by this Means the Debt of the Navy
“ hath been inhanced, so that the Discounts
“ arising upon the Credit of it have affected
“ all other Parts of the Service, from the same
“ Cause. Your Majesty’s Ships of War have
“ been forced in greater Numbers to continue
“ in remote Seas, and at unseasonable Times
“ of the Year, to the great Damage and De-
“ cay of the *British* Navy. This also hath
“ been the Occasion that Your Majesty hath
“ been streightened in Your Convoys for Trade;
“ Your Coasts have been exposed, for want of
“ a sufficient Number of Cruisers to guard
“ them; and You have been disabled from an-
“ noying the Enemy, in their most beneficial
“ Commerce with the *West Indies*, from
“ whence they received those vast Supplies of
“ Treasure, without which they could not have
“ supported the Expences of this War.

“ THAT Part of the War which hath been
“ carried on in *Flanders* was at first imme-
“ diately necessary to the Security of the States
“ General, and hath since brought them great
“ Acquisitions, both of Revenue and Domi-
“ nion; yet even there the original Propor-
“ tions have been departed from, and, during
“ the

“ the Course of the War, have been sinking
“ by Degrees on the Part of *Holland*; so that
“ in this last Year we find the Number in
“ which they fell short of their Three-fifths,
“ to Your Majesty's Two-fifths, have been
“ Twenty Thousand Eight Hundred and
“ Thirty-seven Men: We are not unmindful,
“ that, in the Year One Thousand Seven Hun-
“ dred and Three, a Treaty was made be-
“ tween the two Nations, for a joint Augment-
“ ation of Twenty Thousand Men, wherein
“ the Proportions were varied, and *England*
“ consented to take half upon itself. But it
“ having been annexed as an exprefs Condition
“ to the Grant of the said Augmentation in
“ Parliament, that the States General should
“ prohibit all Trade and Commerce with
“ *France*, and that Condition having not been
“ performed by them, the Commons think it
“ reasonable, that the first Rule of Three to
“ Two ought to have taken Place again, as
“ well in that as in other subsequent Augment-
“ ations, more especially when they consider,
“ that the Revenues of those rich Provinces,
“ which have been conquered, would, if they
“ were duly applied, maintain a great Number
“ of new additional Forces against the com-
“ mon Enemy; notwithstanding which, the
“ States General have raised none upon that
“ Account,

“ Account, but make use of those fresh Supplies of Money, only to ease themselves in the Charge of their first established Quota.

“ As, in the Progress of the War in *Flanders*,
“ a Disproportion was soon created to the Prejudice of *England*; so the very Beginning of the War in *Portugal* brought an unequal Share of Burden upon us; for although the Emperor and the States General were equally Parties with Your Majesty in the Treaty with the King of *Portugal*, yet the Emperor neither furnishing his third Part of the Troops and Subsidies stipulated for; nor the *Dutch* consenting to take an equal Share of his Imperial Majesty's Defect upon themselves, Your Majesty hath been obliged to furnish Two-thirds of the entire Expence created by that Service. Nor has the Inequality stopped there; for ever since the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Six, when the *English* and *Dutch* Forces marched out of *Portugal* into *Castille*, the States General have entirely abandoned the War in *Portugal*, and left Your Majesty to prosecute it singly at Your own Charge, which you have accordingly done, by replacing a greater Number of Troops there, than even at first you took upon you to provide. At the
“ same

“ same Time Your Majesty’s generous En-
“ deavours for the Support and Defence of the
“ King of *Portugal*, have been but ill second-
“ ed by that Prince himself; for notwithstanding
“ ing that by his Treaty he had obliged him-
“ self to furnish Twelve Thousand Foot, and
“ Three Thousand Horse, upon his own Ac-
“ count, besides Eleven Thousand Foot, and
“ Two Thousand Horse more, in Consider-
“ ation of a Subsidy paid him; yet, accord-
“ ing to the best Information Your Commons
“ can procure, it appears, that he hath scarce
“ at any Time furnished Thirteen Thousand
“ Men in the Whole.

“ IN *Spain* the War hath been yet more un-
“ equal, and burdensome to Your Majesty,
“ than in any other Branch of it; for, being
“ commenced without any Treaty whatsoever,
“ the Allies have almost wholly declined
“ taking any Part of it upon themselves. A
“ small Body of *English* and *Dutch* Troops
“ were sent thither in the Year One Thousand
“ Seven Hundred and Five, not as being
“ thought sufficient to support a regular War,
“ or to make the Conquest of so large a Coun-
“ try; but with a View only of assisting the
“ *Spaniards* to set King *Charles* upon the
“ Throne; occasioned by the great Assurances
“ which

“ which were given of their Inclinations to
“ the House of *Austria* : But this Expectation
“ failing, *England* was insensibly drawn into
“ an established War, under all the Disadvan-
“ tages of the Distance of the Place, and the
“ feeble Efforts of the other Allies. The
“ Account we have to lay before Your Maje-
“ sty, upon this Head, is, that although the
“ Undertaking was entered upon at the parti-
“ cular and earnest Request of the Imperial
“ Court, and for a Cause of no less Import-
“ ance and Concern to them, than the re-
“ ducing the *Spanish* Monarchy to the House
“ of *Austria* ; yet neither the late Emperors,
“ nor his present Imperial Majesty, have ever
“ had any Forces there on their Account, till
“ the last Year ; and then only one Regiment
“ of Foot, consisting of Two Thousand Men.
“ Though the States General have contributed
“ something more to this Service, yet their
“ Share also hath been inconsiderable ; for in
“ the Space of four Years, from One Thousand
“ Seven Hundred and Five, to One Thousand
“ Seven Hundred and Eight, both inclusive,
“ all the Forces they have sent into that Coun-
“ try have not exceeded Twelve Thousand
“ Two Hundred Men ; and from the Year
“ One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eight
“ to this Time, they have not sent any Forces

“ or

“ or Recruits whatsoever. To Your Majesty’s Care and Charge, the Recovery of that Kingdom hath been in a Manner wholly left, as if none else were interested or concerned in it. And the Forces which Your Majesty hath sent into *Spain*, in the Space of seven Years, from One Thousand Seven Hundred and Five, to One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven, both inclusive, have amounted to no less than Fifty-seven Thousand nine Hundred Seventy-three Men, besides thirteen Battalions and eighteen Squadrons, for which Your Majesty hath paid a Subsidy to the Emperor.

“ How great the established Expence of a Number of Men hath been, Your Majesty very well knoweth, and Your Commons very sensibly feel; but the Weight will be found much greater, when it is considered how many heavy Articles of unusual and extraordinary Charge have attended this remote and difficult Service, all which have been entirely defrayed by Your Majesty, except that one of transporting the few Forces which were sent by the States General, and the victualling of them during their Transportation only. The Accounts delivered to Your Commons shew, that the Charge of
“ Your

“ Your Majesty’s Ships and Vessels, employed
“ in the Service of the War in *Spain* and *Por-*
“ *tugal*, reckoned after the Rate of four Pounds
“ a Man *per* Month, from the Time they sail-
“ ed from hence, till they returned, were lost,
“ or put upon other Services, hath amounted
“ to Six Millions Five Hundred Forty Thou-
“ sand Nine Hundred and Sixty-six Pounds
“ Fourteen Shillings : The Charge of Tran-
“ sports on the Part of *Great-Britain*, for car-
“ rying on the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*,
“ from the Beginning of it until this Time,
“ hath amounted to One Million Three Hun-
“ dred Thirty-six Thousand Seven Hundred
“ and Nineteen Pounds, Nineteen Shillings
“ and Eleven Pence ; that of victualling Land
“ Forces for the same Service, to Five Hun-
“ dred Eighty-three Thousand Seven Hundred
“ and Seventy Pounds, Eight Shillings and
“ Six Pence ; and that of Contingencies, and
“ other Extraordinaries for the same Service,
“ to One Million Eight Hundred Forty Thou-
“ sand Three Hundred and Fifty-three Pounds.

“ WE should take Notice to Your Majesty
“ of several Sums paid upon Account of Con-
“ tingencies, and Extraordinaries in *Flanders*,
“ making together the Sum of One Million
“ One Hundred Seven Thousand and Ninety-
“ fix

“ fix Pounds : But we are not able to make
 “ any Comparifon of them, with what the
 “ States-General have expended upon the ſame
 “ Head, having no ſuch State of their extra-
 “ ordinary Charge before us. There remains
 “ therefore but one Particular more for your
 “ Majeſty's Obſervation, which ariſeth from the
 “ Subſidies paid to foreign Princes. Theſe, at
 “ the Beginning of the War, were borne in
 “ equal Proportion by your Majeſty and the
 “ States-General ; but, in this Inſtance alſo, the
 “ Balance hath been caſt in Prejudice of your
 “ Majeſty : For it appears, that your Majeſty
 “ hath ſince advanced more than your equal
 “ Proportion, three Millions one Hundred
 “ and fifty-five Thouſand Crowns, beſides
 “ Extraordinaries paid in *Italy*, and not in-
 “ cluded in any of the foregoing Articles,
 “ which ariſe to five Hundred thirty-nine
 “ Thouſand five Hundred and fifty-three
 “ Pounds.

“ WE have laid theſe ſeveral Particulars
 “ before your Majeſty in the ſhorteſt Manner
 “ we have been able ; by an Eſtimate grounded
 “ on the preceding Facts, it doth appear, that
 “ over and above the Quotas on the Part of
 “ *Great-Britain*, anſwering to thoſe contributed
 “ by your Allies, more than nineteen Millions

“ have been expended by your Majesty, during the Course of this War, by Way of Surplusage, or exceeding in Balance, of which none of the Confederates have furnished any Thing whatsoever.

“ It is with very great Concern, that we find so much Occasion given us, to represent how ill an Use hath been made of your Majesty's and your Subjects Zeal for the Common Cause; that the Interest of that Cause hath not been proportionably promoted by it, but others only have been eased at your Majesty's and your Subjects Cost, and have been connived at, in laying their Part of the Burthen upon this Kingdom, although they have upon all Accounts been equally, and, in most Respects, much more nearly concerned than *Britain* in the Issue of the War. We are persuaded your Majesty will think it pardonable in us, with some Resentment to complain of the little Regard, which some of those, whom your Majesty of late Years intrusted, have shewn to the Interests of their Country, in giving Way, at least, to such unreasonable Impositions upon it, if not in some Measure contriving them. The Course of which Impositions hath been so
“ singular

“ singular and extraordinary, that the more
 “ the Wealth of this Nation hath been ex-
 “ hausted, and the more your Majesty’s
 “ Arms have been attended with Success, the
 “ heavier hath been the Burthen laid upon us;
 “ whilst on the other Hand, the more vigorous
 “ your Majesty’s Efforts have been, and the
 “ greater the Advantages which have redounded
 “ thence to your Allies, the more those Allies
 “ have abated in their Share of the Expence.

“ At the first Entrance into this War, the
 “ Commons were induced to exert themselves
 “ in the extraordinary Manner they did, and
 “ to grant such large Supplies, as had been
 “ unknown to former Ages, in Hopes there-
 “ by to prevent the Mischiefs of a lingering
 “ War, and to bring that, into which they
 “ were necessarily engaged, to a speedy Con-
 “ clusion; but they have been very unhappy
 “ in the Event, whilst they have so much
 “ Reason to suspect, that what was intended
 “ to shorten the War hath proved the very
 “ Cause of its long Continuance: For those,
 “ to whom the Profits of it have accrued, have
 “ not been disposed easily to forego them.
 “ And your Majesty will from thence discern
 “ *the true Reason, why so many have delighted in*

“ a War, which brought in so rich an Harvest
“ yearly from Great-Britain.

“ WE are far from desiring, as we know your
“ Majesty will be from concluding any Peace
“ but upon safe and honourable Terms ; and
“ we are far from intending to excuse ourselves
“ from raising all necessary and possible Sup-
“ plies, for an effectual Prosecution of the
“ War, till such a Peace can be obtained :
“ All that your faithful Commons aim at, all
“ that they wish, is an equal Concurrence from
“ the other Powers, engaged in Alliance
“ with your Majesty ; and a just Application of
“ what hath been already gained from the
“ Enemy, towards promoting the Common
“ Cause. Several large Countries and Terri-
“ tories have been restored to the House of
“ Austria, such as the Kingdom of *Naples*,
“ the Dutchy of *Milan*, and other Places in
“ *Italy* ; others have been conquered, and
“ added to their Dominions, as the two Elec-
“ torates of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, the Dutchy
“ of *Mantua*, and the Bishoprick of *Liege* ;
“ these having been reduced in great Measure
“ by our Blood and Treasure, may, we humbly
“ conceive, with great Reason, be claimed
“ to come in Aid towards carrying on the
“ War with *Spain*. And therefore we make
“ it

“ it our earnest Request to your Majesty, that
“ you will give Instructions to your Ministers,
“ to insist with the Emperor, that the Reve-
“ nues of those several Places, excepting only
“ such a Portion thereof as is necessary for
“ their Defence, be actually so applied: And,
“ as to the other Parts of the War, to which
“ your Majesty hath obliged yourself by par-
“ ticular Treaties to contribute, we humbly
“ beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased
“ to take effectual Care, that your Allies do
“ perform their Parts stipulated by those Trea-
“ ties; and that your Majesty will, for the
“ Future, no otherwise furnish Troops, or pay
“ Subsidies, than in Proportion to what your
“ Allies shall actually furnish and pay: When
“ this Justice is done to your Majesty, and to
“ your People, there is nothing which your
“ Commons will not chearfully grant, towards
“ supporting your Majesty in the Cause in
“ which you are engaged. And whatever
“ farther shall appear to be necessary for car-
“ rying on the War, either at Sea or Land,
“ we will effectually enable your Majesty to
“ bear your reasonable Share of any such Ex-
“ pence, and will spare no Supplies which
“ your Subjects are able, with their utmost
“ Efforts, to afford,

“ AFTER

“ AFTER having enquired into, and considered the State of the War, in which the
“ Part your Majesty has borne appeareth to
“ have been, not only superior to that of any
“ one Ally, but even equal to that of the
“ whole Confederacy; your Commons naturally inclined to hope, that they should find
“ Care had been taken of securing some particular Advantages to *Great-Britain*, in the
“ Terms of a future Peace; such as might afford a Prospect of making this Nation Amends in Time, for that immense Treasure
“ which has been expended, and those heavy Debts which have been contracted, in the
“ Course of so long and burthensome a War.
“ This reasonable Expectation could no Way
“ have been better answered, than by some Provision made for the further Security, and
“ the great Improvement of the Commerce
“ of *Great-Britain*; but we find ourselves so
“ very far disappointed in these Hopes, that
“ in a Treaty not long since concluded between your Majesty and the States-General,
“ under a Colour of a mutual Guarantee, given
“ for two Points of the greatest Importance to
“ both Nations, the Succession and the Barrier; it appears, the Interest of *Great-Britain*
“ hath been not only neglected, but sacrificed;
“ and that several Articles in the said Treaty
“ are

“ are destructive to the Trade and Welfare of
“ this Kingdom, and therefore highly disho-
“ nourable to your Majesty.

“ YOUR Commons observe, in the first
“ Place, that several Towns and Places are,
“ by Virtue of this Treaty, to be put into the
“ Hands of the States-General, particularly
“ *Newport, Dendermond*, and the Castle of
“ *Ghent*, which can in no Sense be looked up-
“ on as a Part of a Barrier against *France*, but,
“ being the Keys of the *Netherlands* towards
“ *Great-Britain*, must make the Trade of
“ your Majesty's Subjects in those Parts preca-
“ rious, and, whenever the States think fit, to-
“ tally exclude them from it. The pretended
“ Necessity of putting these Places into the
“ Hands of the States-General, in order to se-
“ cure to them a Communication with their
“ Barrier, must appear vain and groundless;
“ for the Sovereignty of the *Low Countries* be-
“ ing not to remain to an Enemy, but to a
“ Friend and an Ally, that Communication
“ must be always secure and uninterrupted;
“ besides that, in Case of a Rupture, or an
“ Attack, the States have full Liberty allowed
“ them to take Possession of all the *Spanish*
“ *Netherlands*, and therefore needed no Parti-
“ cular

“ cular Stipulation for the Towns abovementioned.

“ HAVING taken Notice of this Concession
“ made to the States-General for, seizing upon the whole ten Provinces ; we cannot but
“ observe to your Majesty, that in the Manner this Article is framed, it is another dangerous Circumstance which attends this
“ Treaty ; for had such a Provision been confined to the Care of an apparent Attack
“ from *France* only, the avowed Design of this Treaty had been fulfilled, and your Majesty's Instructions to your Ambassador had
“ been pursued : But this necessary Restriction hath been omitted, and the same Liberty is
“ granted to the States, to take Possession of all the *Netherlands*, whenever they shall think
“ themselves attacked by any other neighbouring Nation, as when they shall be in Danger from *France* ; so that if it should at any
“ Time happen (which your Commons are very unwilling to suppose) that they should
“ quarrel, even with your Majesty, the Riches, Strength, and advantageous Situation of these Countries, may be made Use of against
“ yourself, without whose generous and powerful Assistance they had never been conquered.”

“ To

“ To return to those all Consequences which
“ relate to the Trade of your Kingdoms, we
“ beg Leave to observe to your Majesty, that
“ though this Treaty reviveth, and rendereth
“ your Majesty a Party to the fourteenth and
“ fifteenth Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*,
“ by Virtue of which, the Impositions upon
“ all Goods and Merchandizes, brought into
“ the *Spanish* Low Countries by the Sea, are
“ to equal those laid on Goods and Merchan-
“ dizes imported by the *Scheld*, and the Ca-
“ nals of *Sass* and *Swynn*, and other Mouths
“ of the Sea adjoining ; yet no Care is taken
“ to preserve that Equality upon the Exporta-
“ tion of those Goods out of the *Spanish* Provin-
“ ces, into those Countries and Places, which,
“ by Virtue of this Treaty, are to be in the
“ Possession of the States ; the Consequence
“ of which must, in Time, be, and your Com-
“ mons are informed, that in some Instances it
“ hath already proved to be the Case, that the
“ Impositions upon Goods carried into those
“ Countries and Places, by the Subjects of the
“ States-General, will be taken off, while those
“ upon the Goods imported by your Majesty’s
“ Subjects remain : By which Means, *Great-*
“ *Britain* will entirely lose this most beneficial
“ Branch of Trade, which it hath in all Ages
“ been possessed of, even from the Time when
“ those

“ those Countries were governed by the House
“ of *Burgundy*, one of the most antient, as
“ well as the most useful Allies to the Crown
“ of *England*.

“ WITH regard to the other Dominions
“ and Territories of *Spain*, your Majesty’s
“ Subjects have always been distinguished in
“ their Commerce with them, and both by
“ antient Treaties, and an uninterrupted Custom, have enjoyed greater Privileges and Immunities of Trade, than either the *Hollanders*, or any other Nation whatsoever. And
“ that wise and excellent Treaty of the Grand
“ Alliance provideth effectually for the Security and Continuance of these valuable Privileges to *Great-Britain*, in such a Manner,
“ as that each Nation might be left at the End
“ of the War, upon the same Foot as it
“ stood at the Commencement of it : But this
“ Treaty we now complain of, instead of confirming your Subjects Rights, surrenders and
“ destroys them ; for although by the sixteenth
“ and seventeenth Articles of the Treaty of
“ of *Munster*, made between his Catholick
“ Majesty and the States-General, all Advantages of Trade are stipulated for, and granted
“ to the *Hollanders*, equal to what the *English*
“ enjoyed ; yet the Crown of *England* not being

“ ing a Party of that Treaty, the Subjects of
“ *England* have never submitted to those Arti-
“ cles of it, nor even the *Spaniards* themselves
“ ever observed them; but this Treaty revives
“ those Articles in Prejudice of *Great Britain*,
“ and makes your Majesty a Party to them,
“ and even a Guarantee to the States-General,
“ for Privileges against your own People.

“ IN how deliberate and extraordinary a
“ Manner your Majesty's Ambassador consented
“ to deprive your Subjects of their antient
“ Rights, and your Majesty of the Power of
“ procuring to them any new Advantage, most
“ evidently appears from his own Letters, which,
“ by your Majesty's Directions, have been laid
“ before your Commons: For when Matters
“ of Advantage to your Majesty, and to your
“ Kingdom, had been offered, as proper to be
“ made Parts of this Treaty, they were refused
“ to be admitted by the States-General, upon
“ this Reason and Principle, that nothing fo-
“ reign to the Guaranties of the Succession, and
“ of the Barrier, should be mingled with them;
“ notwithstanding which, the States-General
“ had no sooner received Notice of a Treaty of
“ Commerce concluded between your Majesty
“ and the present Emperor, but they departed
“ from the Rule proposed before, and insisted
“ upon

“ upon the Article, of which your Commons
“ now complain ; which Article your Majesty’s
“ Ambassador allowed of, although equally
“ foreign to the Succession, or the Barrier ;
“ and although he had for that Reason depart-
“ ed from other Articles, which would have
“ been for the Service of his own Country.

“ We have forborne to trouble your Majesty
“ with general Observations upon this Treaty,
“ as it relateth to and affects the Empire, and
“ other Parts of *Europe*. The Mischiefs, which
“ arise from it to *Great-Britain*, are what only
“ we have presumed humbly to represent to
“ you, as they are very evident, and very great:
“ And as it appears, that the Lord Viscount
“ *Townsend* had not any Orders, or Authority,
“ for concluding several of those Articles, which
“ are most prejudicial to your Majesty’s Sub-
“ jects ; we have thought we could do no less
“ than declare your said Ambassador, who ne-
“ gotiated and signed, and all others who ad-
“ vised the ratifying of this Treaty, Enemies
“ to your Majesty and your Kingdom.

“ UPON these faithful Informations, and
“ Advices from your Commons, we assure our
“ selves, your Majesty, in your great Goodness
“ to your People, will rescue them from those
“ Evils,

“ Evils, which the private Counfels of ill de-
 “ signing Men have expofed them to ; and that
 “ in your great Wifdom you will find fome
 “ Means for the explaining, and amending,
 “ the feveral Articles of this Treaty, fo as that
 “ they may confift with the Intereft of *Great-*
 “ *Britain*, and with real and lafting Friendfhip
 “ between your Majefty and the States-Ge-
 “ neral.”

BETWEEN the Representation and the firft Debates upon the Subject of it, feveral Weeks had paffed ; during which Time the Parliam-ent had other Matters likewise before them, that deferve to be mentioned. For on the Ninth of *February* was repealed the Act for naturalizing foreign Proteftants, which had been paffed under the laft Miniftry, and, as many People thought, to very ill Purpofes. By this Act any Foreigner, who would take the Oaths to the Government, and profefs himfelf a Proteftant, of whatever Denomination, was immediately naturalized, and had all the Privileges of an *English*-born Subject, at the Expence of a Shilling. Moft Proteftants Abroad differ from us in the Points of Church-Government ; fo that all the Acquisitions by this Act would increafe the Number of Diffenters ; and therefore the Propofal, that fuch Foreigners fhould be obliged

obliged to conform to the established Worship, was rejected. But because several Persons were fond of this Project, as a Thing that would be of mighty Advantage to the Kingdom, I shall say a few Words upon it.

The Maxim, “ That People are the Riches “ of a Nation,” hath been crudely understood by many Writers and Reasoners upon that Subject. There are several Ways by which People are brought into a Country. Sometimes a Nation is invaded and subdued; and the Conquerors seize the Lands, and make the Natives their Under-Tenants and Servants. Colonies have been always planted where the Natives were driven out or destroyed, or the Land uncultivated and waste. In those Countries where the Lord of the Soil is Master of the Labour and Liberty of his Tenants, or of Slaves bought by his Money, Men’s Riches are reckoned by the Number of their Vassals. And sometimes, in Governments newly instituted, where there are not People to till the Ground, many Laws have been made to encourage and allure Numbers from the neighbouring Countries. And, in all these Cases, the new Comers have either Lands allotted them, or are Slaves to the Proprietors. But to invite helpless Families, by Thousands, into a Kingdom inhabited like ours, without
Lands

Lands to give them, and where the Laws will not allow that they should be Part of the Property as Servants, is a wrong Application of the Maxim, and the same Thing, in great, as Infants dropped at the Doors, which are only a Burthen and Charge to the Parish. The true Way of multiplying Mankind to publick Advantage, in such a Country as *England*, is to invite from Abroad only able Handicraftsmen and Artificers, or such who bring over a sufficient Share of Property to secure them from Want; to enact and enforce sumptuary Laws against Luxury, and all Excesses in Cloathing, Furniture, and the like; to encourage Matrimony, and reward, as the *Romans* did, those who have a certain Number of Children. Whether bringing over the *Palatines* were a mere Consequence of this Law for a general Naturalization; or whether, as many surmised, it had some other Meaning, it appeared manifestly, by the Issue, that the Publick was a Loser by every Individual among them; and that a Kingdom can no more be the richer by such an Importation, than a Man can be fatter by a Wen, which is unsightly and troublesome, at best, and intercepts that Nourishment, which would otherwise diffuse itself through the whole Body.

ABOUT a Fortnight after, the Commons sent up a Bill for securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Members in that House who should be allowed to possess Employments under the Crown. Bills to the same Effect, promoted by both Parties, had, after making the like Progress, been rejected in former Parliaments; the Court and Ministry, who will ever be against such a Law, having usually a greater Influence in the House of Lords, and so it happened now. Although that Influence were less, I am apt to think that such a Law would be too thorough a Reformation in one Point, while we have so many Corruptions in the rest; and perhaps the Regulations, already made on that Article, are sufficient, by which several Employments incapacitate a Man from being chosen a Member, and all of them bring it to a new Election.

FOR my own Part, when I consider the Temper of particular Persons, and by what Maxims they have acted (almost without Exception) in their private Capacities, I cannot conceive how such a Bill should obtain a Majority, unless every Man expected to be one of the Fifty, which, I think, was the Limitation intended.

ABOUT

ABOUT the same Time, likewise, the House of Commons advanced one considerable Step towards securing us against farther Impositions from our Allies, resolving that the additional Forces should be continued; but with a Condition, that the *Dutch* should make good their Proportion of three fifths to two fifths, which those Confederates had so long, and in so great Degree, neglected. The Duke of *Marlborough's* Deduction of Two and a Half *per Cent.* from the Pay of the foreign Troops, was also applied for carrying on the War.

LASTLY, within this Period is to be included the Act passed to prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion in *Scotland*, in the Exercise of their religious Worship, and in the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of *England*. It is known enough, that the most considerable of the Nobility and Gentry there, as well as great Numbers of the People, dread the tyrannical Discipline of those Synods and Presbyteries; and at the same Time have the utmost Contempt for the Abilities and Tenets of their Teachers. It was besides thought an Inequality, beyond all Appearance of Reason or Justice, that Dissenters of every Denomination

here, who are the meanest and most illiterate Part among us, should possess a Toleration by Law, under Colour of which they might, upon Occasion, be bold enough to insult the Religion establishe^d, while those of the Episcopal Church in *Scotland* groaned under a real Persecution. The only specious Objection against this Bill was, that it set the Religion by Law, in both Parts of the Island, upon a different Foot, directly contrary to the Union; because, by an Act passed this very Session against occasional Conformity, our Dissenters were shut out from all Employments. A Petition from *Carstairs*, and other *Scotch* Professors, against this Bill, was offered to the House, but not accepted; and a Motion made by the other Party, to receive a Clause that should restrain all Persons, who have any Office in *Scotland*, from going to Episcopal Meetings, passed in the Negative. It is manifest, that the Promoters of this Clause were not moved by any Regard for *Scotland*, which is by no Means their Favourite at present; only they hoped, that, if it were made Part of a Law, it might occasion such a Choice of Representatives in both Houses, from *Scotland*, as would be a considerable Strength to their Faction here. But the Proposition was in itself extremely absurd, that
so

so many Lords, and other Persons of Distinction, who have great Employments, Pensions, Posts in the Army, and other Places of Profit, many of whom are in frequent or constant Attendance at the Court, and utterly dislike their national Way of Worship, should be deprived of their Liberty of Conscience at Home; not to mention those who are sent thither from hence to take Care of the Revenue, and other Affairs, who would ill digest the changing of their Religion for that of *Scotland*.

WITH a farther View of Favour towards the Episcopal Clergy of *Scotland*, three Members of that Country were directed to bring in a Bill for restoring the Patrons to their antient Rights of presenting Ministers to the vacant Churches there, which the Kirk, during the Height of their Power, had obtained for themselves. And, to conclude this Subject at once, the Queen, at the Close of the Session, commanded Mr. Secretary *St. John* to acquaint the House, "That, pursuant to their Address, " the Profits arising from the Bishops Estates " in *Scotland*, which remained in the Crown, " should be applied to the Support of such of " the Episcopal Clergy there, as would take " the Oaths to Her Majesty."

NOTHING could more amply justify the Proceedings of the Queen and Her Ministers, for two Years past, than that famous Representation above at large recited ; the unbiaſſed Wiſdom of the Nation, after the ſtricteſt Inquiry, confirming thoſe Facts upon which Her Maſteſty Counſels were grounded : And many Perſons, who were before inclined to believe that the Allies and the late Miniſtry had been too much loaded by the Malice, Miſrepresentations, or Ignorance of Writers, were now fully convinced of their Miſtake by ſo great an Authority.

UPON this Occaſion I cannot forbear doing Juſtice to Mr. *St. John*, who had been Secretary of War, for ſeveral Years, under the former Adminiſtration, where he had the Advantage of obſerving how Affairs were managed both at Home and Abroad. He was one of thoſe who ſhared in the preſent Treafurer's Fortune, reſigning his Employment at the ſame Time ; and, upon that Miniſter's being again taken into Favour, this Gentleman was ſome Time after made Secretary of State. There he began afreſh, by the Opportunities of his Station, to look into paſt Miſcarriages ;
and

and, by the Force of an extraordinary Genius, and Application to publick Affairs, joined with an invincible Eloquence, laid open the Scene of Miscarriages and Corruptions through the whole Course of the War, in so evident a Manner, that the House of Commons seemed principally directed in their Resolutions, upon this Inquiry, by his Information and Advice.

IN a short Time after the Representation was published, there appeared a Memorial in the *Dutch Gazette*, as by Order of the States, reflecting very much upon the said Representation, as well as the Resolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny some of the Facts, and to extenuate others. This Memorial, translated into *English*, a common Writer of News had the Boldness to insert in one of his Papers. A Complaint being made thereof to the House of Commons, they voted the pretended Memorial to be a false, scandalous, malicious Libel, and ordered the Printer to be taken into Custody.

IT was the Misfortune of the Ministers, that while they were baited by their professed Adversaries of the discontented Faction, acting
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in Confederacy with Emissaries of foreign Powers, to break the Measures Her Majesty had taken towards a Peace, they met at the same Time with frequent Difficulties from those who agreed and engaged with them to pursue the same general End ; but sometimes disapproved the Methods as too slack and remiss, or, in Appearance, now and then perhaps a little dubious. In the first Session of this Parliament, a considerable Number of Gentlemen, all Members of the House of Commons, began to meet by themselves, and consult what Course they ought to steer in this new World. They intended to revive a new Country-Party in Parliament, which might, as in former Times, oppose the Court in any Proceedings they disliked. The whole Body was of such who profess what is commonly called High-church Principles, upon which Account they were irreconcilable Enemies to the late Ministry and all its Adherents. On the other Side, considering the Temper of the new Men in Power, that they were Persons who had formerly moved between the two Extremes, those Gentlemen, who were impatient for an intire Change, and to see all their Adversaries laid at once as low as the Dust, began to be apprehensive that the Work would be done by Halves. But the
Juncture

Juncture of Affairs at that Time, both at Home and Abroad, would by no Means admit of the least Precipitation, although the Queen and her first Minister had been disposed to it, which certainly they were not. Neither did the Court seem at all uneasy at this League, formed in Appearance against it, but composed of honest Gentlemen who wished well to their Country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the Means; or if such a Society should begin to grow resty, nothing was easier than to divide them, and render all their Endeavours ineffectual. But, in the Course of that first Session, many of this Society became gradually reconciled to the new Ministry, whom they found to be greater Objects of the Common Enemy's Hatred than themselves; and the Attempt of *Guiscard*, as it gained farther Time for the deferring the Disposal of Employments, so it much endeared that Person to the Kingdom, who was so near falling a Sacrifice to the Safety of his Country. Upon the last Session of which I am now writing, this *October Club* (as it was called) renewed their usual Meetings, but were now very much altered from their original Institution, and seemed to have wholly dropped the Design, as of no further Use. They saw a Point carried in
the

the House of Lords against the Court, that would end in the Ruin of the Kingdom; and they observed the Enemy's whole Artillery directly levelled at the Treasurer's Head. In short, the Majority of the Club had so good an Understanding with the great Men at Court, that two of the Latter, to shew the World how fair a Correspondence there was between the Court and Country-party, consented to be at one of their Dinners; but this Intercourse had an Event very different from what was expected: For immediately the more zealous Members of that Society broke off from the rest, and composed a new One, made up of Gentlemen, who seemed to expect little of the Court; and, perhaps, with a Mixture of others who thought themselves disappointed, or too long delayed. Many of these were observed to retain an incurable Jealousy of the Treasurer, and to interpret all Delays, which they could not comprehend, as a Reserve of Favour in this Minister to the Persons and Principles of the abandoned Party.

UPON an Occasion offered about this Time, some Persons, out of Distrust to the Treasurer, endeavoured to obtain a Point, which could

not have been carried without putting all into Confusion. A Bill was brought into the House of Commons appointing Commissioners to examine into the Value of all Lands, and other Interests granted by the Crown since the thirteenth Day of *February*, One Thousand six Hundred and Eighty-eight, and upon what Considerations such Grants had been made. The united Country-Interest in the House was extremely set upon passing this Bill. They had conceived an Opinion from former Precedents, that the Court would certainly oppose all Steps towards a Resumption of Grants; and those who were apprehensive that the Treasurer inclined the same Way proposed the Bill should be tacked to another, for raising a Fund by Duties upon Soap and Paper, which hath been always imputed, whether justly or no, as a favourite Expedient of those called the Tory Party. At the same Time it was very well known, that the House of Lords had made a fixed and unanimous Resolution against giving their Concurrence to the passing such united Bills: So that the Consequences of this Project must have been to bring the Ministry under Difficulties, to stop the necessary Supplies, and endanger the good Correspondence between

tween both Houses : notwithstanding all which the Majority carried it for a Tack ; and the Committee was instructed accordingly to make the two Bills into one, whereby the Worst that could happen would have followed, if the Treasurer had not convinced the warm Leaders in this Affair, by undeniable Reasons, that the Means they were using would certainly disappoint the End ; that neither himself, nor any other of the Queen's Servants, were at all against this Enquiry ; and he promised his utmost Credit to help forward the Bill in the House of Lords. He prevailed at last to have it sent up single ; but their Lordships gave it another Kind of Reception. Those who were of the Side opposite to the Court withstood it to a Man, as in a Party-Case : Among the rest, some very personally concerned, and others by Friends and Relations, which they supposed a sufficient Excuse to be absent, or dissent. Even those, whose Grants were antecedent to this intended Inspection, began to be alarmed as Men, whose Neighbours Houses are on Fire. A Shew of Zeal for the late King's Honour occasioned many Reflections upon the Date of this Enquiry, which was to commence with his Reign : And the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had now flung away the
Mask

Mask which he lately pulled off, like one who had no other View but that of Vengeance against the Queen and Her Friends, acted consistently enough with his Design, by Voting as a Lord against the Bill, after he had directed his Son in the House of Commons to vote for the Tack.

THUS miscarried this popular Bill for appointing Commissioners to examine into Royal Grants; but whether those chiefly concerned did rightly consult their own Interest hath been made a Question, which perhaps Time will resolve. It was agreed that the Queen, by Her own Authority, might have issued out a Commission for such an Enquiry, and every body believed, that the Intention of the Parliament, was only to tax the Grants with about three Years Purchase, and at the same Time establish the Proprietors in Possession of the Remainder for ever; so that, upon the Whole, the Grantees would have been great Gainers by such an Act, since the Titles of those Lands, as they stood then, were hardly of half Value with others either for Sale or Settlement. Besides, the Examples of the *Irish* Forfeitures might have taught these precarious Owners, that when the House of Commons

hath

hath once engaged in a Pursuit, which they think is right, although it be stopped or suspended for a While, they will be sure to renew it upon every Opportunity that offereth, and seldom fail of Success: For Instance, if the Resumption should happen to be made Part of a Supply, which can be easily done without the Objection of a Tack, the Grantees might possibly then have much harder Conditions given them; and I do not see how they could prevent it. Whether the resuming of Royal Grants be consistent with good Policy or Justice, would be too long a Disquisition: Besides, the Profusion of Kings is not like to be a Grievance for the future, because there have been Laws since made to provide against that Evil, or, indeed, rather because the Crown hath nothing left to give away. But the Objection made against the Date of the intended Enquiry was invidious and trifling; for King *James II.* made very few Grants: He was a better Manager, and squandering was none of his Faults; whereas the late King, who came over here a perfect Stranger to our Laws, and to our People, regardless of Posterity, wherein he was not likely to survive, thought he could no Way better strengthen a new Title, than by purchasing Friends at the Expence of every

every Thing which was in his Power to part with.

THE Reasonableness of uniting to a Money-Bill one of a different Nature, which is usually called Tacking, hath been likewise much debated, and will admit of Argument enough. In antient Times, when a Parliament was held, the Commons first proposed their Grievances to be redressed, and then gave their Aids; so that it was a perfect Bargain between the King and the Subject. This fully answered the Ends of Tacking. Aids were then demanded upon Occasions which would hardly pass at present; such, for Instance, as those for making the King's Son a Knight, marrying his eldest Daughter, and some others of the like Sort. Most of the Money went into the King's Coffers for his private Use; neither was he accountable for any Part of it. Hence arose the Form of the King's thanking his Subjects for their Benevolence, when any Subsidies, Tenths, or Fifteenths were given him: But the Supplies now granted are of another Nature, and cannot be properly called a particular Benefit to the Crown, because they are all appropriated to their several Uses: So that when the House of Commons tack to a Money-Bill what is foreign
and

and hard to be digested, if it be not passed, they put themselves and their Country in as great Difficulties as the Prince. On the other Side, there have been several Regulations made, through the Course of Time, in parliamentary Proceedings; among which it is grown a Rule, that a Bill once rejected shall not be brought up again the same Session; whereby the Commons seem to have lost the Advantage of purchasing a Redress of their Grievances, by granting Supplies, which, upon some Emergencies, hath put them upon this Expedient of tacking: So that there is more to be said on each Side of the Case, than is convenient for me to trouble the Reader or myself in deducing.

AMONG the Matters of Importance during this Session, we may justly number the Proceedings of the House of Commons with relation to the Press, since Her Majesty's Message to the House, of *January* the Seventeenth, concludeth with a Paragraph, representing the great Licences taken in publishing false and scandalous Libels, such as are a Reproach to any Government; and recommending to them to find a Remedy equal to the Mischief. The Meaning of these Words in the Message seemeth to be confined to these weekly and daily

daily Papers and Pamphlets, reflecting upon the Persons and the Management of the Ministry. • But the House of Commons, in their Address, which answereth this Message, maketh an Addition of the Blasphemies against God and Religion; and it is certain, that nothing would be more for the Honour of the Legislature, than some effectual Law for putting a Stop to this universal Mischief: But as the Person, who advised the Queen in that Part of her Message, had only then in his Thoughts the redressing of the political and factious Libels, I think he ought to have taken Care, by his great Credit in the House, to have proposed some Ways by which that Evil might be removed; the Law for taxing single Papers having produced a quite contrary Effect, as was then foreseen by many Persons, and hath since been found true by Experience. For the adverse Party, full of Rage and Leisure since their Fall, and unanimous in Defence of their Cause, employ a Set of Writers by Subscription, who are well versed in all the Topicks of Defamation, and have a Style and Genius levelled to the Generality of Readers; while those who would draw their Pens on the Side of their Prince and Country are discouraged by this Tax, which exceeds the intrinsic Value both of the Materials and the Work; a
Thing,

Thing, if I be not mistaken, without Example. It must be acknowledged, that the bad Practices of Printers have been such, as to deserve the severest Animadversions of the Publick; and it is to be wished, the Party-Quarrels of the Pen were always managed with Decency and Truth: But, in the mean Time, to open the Mouths of our Enemies and shut our own, is a Turn of Politicks that wanteth a little to be explained. Perhaps the Ministry now in Possession, because they are in Possession, may despise such Trifles as this; and it is not to be denied, that, acting as they do upon a National Interest, they may seem to stand in less Need of such Supports, or may safely fling them down as no longer necessary. But if the Leaders of the other Party had proceeded by this Maxim, their Power would have been none at all, or of very short Duration: And had not some active Pens fallen in to improve the good Dispositions of the People, upon the late Change, and continued since to overthrow the Falsehoods, plentifully, and sometimes not unplaussibly, scattered by the Adversaries, I am very much in doubt, whether those at the Helm would now have Reason to be pleased with their Success. A particular Person may, with more Safety, decide

spife the Opinion of the Vulgar, because it doth a wise Man no real harm or good, but the Administration a great deal; and whatever Side hath the sole management of the Pen will soon find Hands enough to write down their Enemies as low as they please. If the People had no other Idea of those whom her Majesty trusteth in her greatest Affairs, than what is conveyed by the Passions of such as would compass Sea and Land for their Destruction, what could they expect, but to be torn in Pieces by the Rage of the Multitude? How necessary therefore was it, that the World should, from time to time, be undeceived by true Representations of Persons and Facts, which have kept the Kingdom steady to its Interest, against all the Attacks of a cunning and virulent Faction.

HOWEVER, the Mischiefs of the Press were too exorbitant to be cured, by such a Remedy as a Tax upon the smaller Papers; and a Bill for a much more effectual Regulation of it was brought into the House of Commons, but so late in the Session, that there was no Time to pass it; for there hath hitherto always appeared an unwillingness to cramp over-much the Liberty of the Press, whether from the Inconveniencies apprehended from doing too

much, or too little ; or whether the Benefit proposed by each Party to themselves, from the Service of their Writers, towards the recovering or preserving of Power, be thought to outweigh the Disadvantages. However it came about, this Affair was put off from one Week to another, and the Bill not brought into the House till the Eighth of *June*. It was committed three Days, and then heard of no more. In this Bill there was a Clause inserted, (whether industriously with Design to overthrow it) that the Author's Name, and Place of Abode, should be set to every printed Book, Pamphlet, or Paper ; which I believe no Man, who hath the least Regard to Learning, would give his Consent to ; for, besides the Objection to this Clause from the Practice of pious Men, who, in publishing excellent Writings for the Service of Religion, have chosen, out of an humble Christian Spirit, to conceal their Names ; it is certain, that all Persons of true Genius or Knowledge have an invincible Modesty and Suspicion of themselves, upon their first sending their Thoughts into the World ; and that those who are dull or superficial, void of all Taste and Judgment, have Dispositions directly contrary ; so that, if this Clause had made part of a Law, there would have been an end, in all

all Likelihood, of any valuable Production for the future, either in Wit or Learning; and that insufferable Race of stupid People, who are now every Day loading the Press, would then reign alone, in time destroy our very first Principles of Reason, and introduce Barbarity amongst us, which is already kept out with so much Difficulty by so few Hands.

HAVING given an Account of the several Steps made towards a Peace, from the first Overtures begun by *France*, to the Commencement of the second Session, I shall in the Fourth Book relate the Particulars of this great Negotiation, from the Period last-mentioned to the present Time; and because there happened some Passages in both Houses, occasioned by the Treaty, I shall take Notice of them under that Head. There only remaineth to be mentioned one Affair of another Nature, which the Lords and Commons took into their Cognizance, after a very different Manner, wherewith I shall close this Part of my Subject.

THE Sect of Quakers amongst us, whose System of Religion, first founded upon Enthusiasm, hath been many Years growing into a Craft, held it an unlawful Action to take an Oath to a Magistrate. This Doctrine was

taught them by the Author of their Sect, from a literal Application of the Text, *Swear not at all*; but being a Body of People, wholly turned to Trade and Commerce of all Kinds, they found themselves on many Occasions deprived of the Benefit of the Law, as well as of Voting at Elections, by a foolish Scruple, which their Obstinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this Inconvenience, these People had Credit enough in the late Reign to have an Act passed, that their solemn Affirmation and Declaration should be accepted, instead of an Oath in the usual Form. The great Concern in those Times was to lay all Religion upon a Level; in order to which, this Maxim was advanced, that no Man ought to be denied the Liberty of serving his Country upon Account of a different Belief in speculative Opinions, under which term some People were apt to include every Doctrine of Christianity: However, this Act, in favour of the Quakers, was only Temporary, in order to keep them in constant Dependence, and expired of Course after a certain Term, if it were not continued. Those People had, therefore, very early in the Session, offered a Petition to the House of Commons for a Continuance of the Act, which was not suffered to be brought up; upon this they applied themselves

themselves to the Lords, who passed a Bill accordingly, and sent it down to the Commons, where it was not so much as allowed a first Reading.

AND indeed it is not easy to conceive upon what Motives the Legislature of so great a Kingdom could descend so low, as to be ministerial and subservient to the Caprices of the most absurd Heresy that ever appeared in the World; and this in a Point, where those deluding or deluded People stand singular from all the rest of Mankind who live under civil Government: But the Designs of an aspiring Party, at that time, were not otherwise to be compassed, than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the Church; and I am fully convinced, that if a Sect of Sceptick Philosophers (who profess to doubt of every thing) had been then among us, and mingled their Tenets with some Corruptions of Christianity, they might have obtained the same Privilege; and that a Law would have been enacted, whereby the solemn Doubt of the People called Scepticks should have been accepted instead of an Oath in the usual Form; so absurd are all Maxims formed upon the inconsistent Principles of Faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the standard of Truth and Reason. .

BOOK

B O O K IV.

WE left the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies, and those of the Enemy, preparing to assemble at *Utrecht* on the first of *January*, N. S. in order to form a Congress for negotiating a general Peace; wherein although the *Dutch* had made a mighty Merit of their Compliance with the Queen, yet they set all their Instruments at work to inflame both Houses against her Majesty's Measures. *Monf. Bothmar*, the *Hanoverian* Envoy, took care to print and disperse his Memorial, of which I have formerly spoken: *Hoffman*, the Emperor's Resident, was soliciting for a Yacht and Convoys to bring over Prince *Eugene* at this Juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great Proposals from the Imperial Court: The Earl of *Nottingham* became a Convert, for Reasons already mentioned: Money was distributed where Occasion required; and the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Marlborough*, together with the Earl of *Godolphin*, had put themselves at the Head of the Junto, and their Adherents, in order to attack the Court,

SOME

SOME Days after, the Vote passed the House of Lords for admitting into the Address the Earl of *Nottingham's* Clause, against any Peace without *Spain*. *Monf. Buys*, the *Dutch* Envoy, who had been deep in all the Consultations with the discontented Party for carrying that Point, was desired to meet with the Lord Privy-seal, the Earl of *Dartmouth*, and Mr. Secretary *St. John*, in order to sign a Treaty between the Queen and the States, to subsist after a Peace. There the Envoy took Occasion to expostulate upon the Advantages stipulated for *Britain* with *France*; said " it
" was his Opinion, that those Ministers ought,
" in respect of the Friendship between both
" Nations, to acquaint him what these Advantages were; and that he looked upon
" his Country to be intitled, by Treaty, to
" share them equally with us: That there
" was now another Reason why we should
" be more disposed to comply with him upon
" this Head; for, since the late Resolution of
" the House of Lords, he took it for granted,
" it would be a dangerous Step in us to give
" *Spain* to a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*;
" and, therefore, that we should do well to
" induce the States, by such a Concession, to
" help us out of this Difficulty."

MR. ST. JOHN made Answer, " That there
" was not a Man in the Queen's Council ca-
" pable of so base a Thought: That if Buys
" had any Thing to complain of, which was
" injurious to *Holland*, or justly tending to
" hurt the good Correspondence between us
" and the States, he was confident her Ma-
" jesty would at all Times be ready to give it
" up; but that the Ministers scorned to screen
" themselves at the Expence of their Country:
" That the Resolution *Buys* mentioned was
" chiefly owing to foreign Ministers intermed-
" dling in our Affairs, and would perhaps
" have an Effect the Projectors did not fore-
" see: That, if the Peace became impracti-
" cable, the House of Commons would
" certainly put the War upon another
" Foot, and reduce the publick Expence
" within such a Compass as our Treaties re-
" quired in the strictest Sense, and as our
" present Condition would admit, leaving
" the Partizans for War to supply the rest."

ALTHOUGH the Secretary believed this An-
swer would put an End to such infamous Pro-
posals, it fell out otherwise; for, shortly after,
Mons. *Buys* applied himself to the Treasurer,
promising to undertake, " That his Masters
should

“ should give up the Article of *Spain*, provided they might share with us in the “ Affiento for Negroes.” To which the Treasurer’s Answer was short, “ That he “ would rather lose his Head than consent to “ such an Offer.”

IT is manifest, by this Proceeding, that whatever Schemes were forming here at home, in this Juncture, by the Enemies to the Peace, the *Dutch* only designed to fall in with it as far as it would answer their own Account; and, by a Strain of the lower Politicks, wherein they must be allowed to excel every Country in *Christendom*, lay upon the Watch for a good Bargain, by taking Advantage of the Distress they themselves had brought upon their nearest Neighbour and Ally.

BUT the Queen highly resented this Indignity from a Republick, upon whom she had conferred so many Obligations. She could not endure that the *Dutch* should employ their Instruments to act in Confederacy with a Cabal of factious People, who were prepared to sacrifice the Safety of their Prince and Country to the Recovery of that Power they had so long possessed and abused. Her Majesty knew very well, that whatever were the mistaken or affected

affected Opinion of some People at home, upon the Article of *Spain*, it was a Point the States had long given up, who had very openly told our Ministry, “ That the War in that “ Country was only our Concern, and what “ their Republick had nothing to do with.” It is true, the Party-leaders were equally convinced, that the Recovery of *Spain* was impracticable; but many Things may be excused in a professed Adversary, fallen under Disgrace, which are highly criminal in an Ally, upon whom we are that very instant conferring new Favours.

HER Majesty therefore thought it high Time to exert herself, and at length put a Stop to foreign Influence upon *British* Counsels; so that, after the Earl of *Nottingham's* Clause against any Peace, without *Spain*, was carried in the House of Lords, Directions were immediately sent to the Earl of *Strafford* at the *Hague*, to inform the *Dutch*, “ That “ it was obtained by a Trick, and would “ consequently turn to the Disappointment “ and Confusion of the Contrivers and the “ Actors.” He was likewise instructed to be very dry and reserved to the Pensionary and *Dutch* Ministers; to let them know, “ the Queen “ thought herself ill treated; and that they “ would

“ would soon hear what Effects those Mea-
“ sures would have upon a mild and good
“ Temper, wrought up to Resentment by re-
“ peated Provocations : That the States might
“ have the War continued, if they pleased ;
“ but that the Queen would not be forced to
“ carry it on after their Manner, nor would
“ suffer them to make her Peace, or to settle
“ the Interests of her Kingdoms.”

To others in *Holland* who appeared to be more moderate, the Earl was directed to say,
“ That the States were upon a wrong Scent :
“ That their Minister here mistook every
“ Thing that we had promised : That we
“ would perform all they could reasonably
“ ask from us, in relation to their Barrier and
“ their Trade ; and that *Monf. Buys* dealt very
“ unfairly, if he had not told them as much.
“ But that *Great-Britain* proceeded, in some
“ respects, upon a new Scheme of Politicks ;
“ would no longer struggle for Impossibilities,
“ nor be amused by Words : That our People
“ came more and more to their Senses ; and
“ that the single Dispute now was, whether
“ the *Dutch* would join with a Faction, against
“ the Queen, or with the Nation, for her ?”

THE Court likewise resolved to discourage Prince *Eugene* from his Journey to *England*, which he was about this Time undertaking, and of which I have spoken before. He was told, “ that the Queen wanted no Exhortations to carry on the War ; but the Project of it should be agreed abroad, upon which her Majesty’s Resolutions might soon be signified : but until she saw what the Emperor and Allies were ready to do, she would neither promise nor engage for any Thing.” At the same Time Mr. *St. John* told *Hoffman*, the Emperor’s Resident here, “ That if the Prince had a mind to divert himself in *London*, the Ministers would do their Part to entertain him, and be sure to trouble him with no Manner of Business.” This Coldness retarded the Prince’s Journey for some Days ; but did not prevent it, although he had a second Message by the Queen’s Order, with this farther Addition, “ That his Name had lately been made use of, on many Occasions, to create a Ferment and stir up Sedition ; and that her Majesty judged it would be neither safe for him, nor convenient for her, that he should come over at this Time.” But all would not do : it was enough that the Queen did not absolutely forbid

forbid him, and the Party-Confederates, both foreign and domestick, thought his Presence would be highly necessary for their Service.

TOWARDS the End of *December*, the Lord Privy-seal * set out for *Holland*. He was ordered to stop at the *Hague*, and, in Conjunction with the Earl of *Strafford*, to declare to the States, in her Majesty's Name, " her
 " Resolutions to conclude no Peace, wherein
 " the Allies in general, and each Confederate
 " in particular, might not find their ample
 " Security, and their reasonable Satisfaction :
 " That she was ready to insist upon their
 " Barrier, and Advantages in their Trade, in
 " the Manner the States themselves should
 " desire; and to concert with them such a
 " Plan of Treaty, as both Powers might be
 " under mutual Engagements never to recede
 " from: That nothing could be of greater
 " Importance, than for the Ministers of *Great-*
 " *Britain* and *Holland* to enter the Congress
 " under the strictest Ties of Confidence, and
 " intirely to concur throughout the Course of
 " these Negotiations. To which Purpose it
 " was her Majesty's Pleasure, that their Lord-
 " ships should adjust with the *Dutch* Ministers,
 " the

* Dr. *Robinson*, Lord Bishop of *London*.

“ the best Manner and Method for opening and carrying on the Conferences, and
“ declare themselves instructed to communicate freely their Thoughts and Measures to
“ the Plenipotentiaries of the States, who, they
“ hoped, had received the same Instructions.”

LASTLY, the two Lords were to signify to the Pensionary, and the other Ministers,
“ That her Majesty’s Preparations for the next
“ Campaign were carried on with all the
“ Dispatch and Vigour, which the present Circumstances would allow; and to insist, that
“ the same might be done by the States; and
“ that both Powers should join in pressing the
“ Emperor, and other Allies, to make greater Efforts than they had hitherto done;
“ without which the War must languish, and
“ the Terms of Peace become every Day
“ more disadvantageous.”

THE two *British* Plenipotentiaries went to *Utrecht*, with very large Instructions, and after the usual Manner were to make much higher Demands from *France* (at least in behalf of the Allies) than they could have any Hope to obtain. The Sum of what they had in charge, besides Matter of form, was, to concert with the Ministers of the several Powers engaged
against

against *France*, “ That all Differences arising
“ among them should be accommodated be-
“ tween themselves, without suffering the
“ *French* to interfere: That whatever were
“ proposed to *France* by a Minister of the
“ Alliance should be backed by the whole
“ Confederacy: That a Time might be fixed
“ for the Conclusion, as there had been for
“ the Commencement, of the Treaty.” *Spain*
was to be demanded out of the Hands of the
Bourbon Family, as the most effectual Means
for preventing the Union of that Kingdom
with *France*; and whatever Conditions the
Allies could agree upon for hindering that
Union, their Lordships were peremptorily to
insist on.

As the Interests of each Ally in particular,
the Plenipotentiaries of *Britain* were to de-
mand “ *Straßburgh*, the Fort of *Kehl*, with
“ its Dependencies, and the Town of *Brisac*,
“ with its Territory, for the Emperor: That
“ *France* should possess *Alsatia*, according
“ to the Treaty of *Westphalia*, with the
“ Right of the Prefecture only over the ten
“ Imperial Cities in that Country: That the
“ Fortifications of the said ten Cities be put
“ into the Condition they were in at the
time

“ time of the said Treaty, except *Landau*,
“ which was to be demanded for the Empe-
“ ror and Empire, with Liberty of demolish-
“ ing the Fortifications: That the *French*
“ King should at a certain Time, and at his
“ own Expence, demolish the Fortresses of
“ *Hunningen*, *New Brisac*, and *Fort Lewis*,
“ never to be rebuilt.

“ THAT the Town and Fortress of *Rhin-*
“ *felt* should be demanded for the Landgrave
“ of *Hesse-Cassel*, until that matter be other-
“ wise settled.

“ THAT the Clause relating to Religion, in
“ the Fourth Article of the Treaty of *Riswick*,
“ and contrary to that of *Westphalia*, should
“ be annulled, and the state of Religion in
“ *Germany* restored to the Tenour of the
“ Treaty of *Westphalia*.

“ THAT *France* should acknowledge the
“ King of *Prussia*, and give him no Disturb-
“ ance in *Neufchatel* and *Valengin*: That
“ the Principality of *Orange*, and other Estates
“ belonging to the late King *William*, should
“ be restored, as Law should direct.

“ THAT

“ THAT the Duke of *Hanover* should be
“ acknowledged Elector.

“ THAT the King of *Portugal* should enjoy
“ all the Advantages stipulated between him
“ and the Allies.

“ THAT the States should have for their
“ Barrier *Furnes, Fort Knock, Menin, Ipres,*
“ *Lisle, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Mau-*
“ *beuge, Douay, Bethune Avie, St. Venant,*
“ and *Bouchain*, with their Cannon, &c.
“ That the *French* King should restore all the
“ Places belonging to *Spain*, now or during
“ this War in his Possession, in the *Nether-*
“ *lands*: That such Part of them as should be
“ thought fit might be allowed likewise for
“ a Barrier to the States: That *France* should
“ grant the Tariff of One Thousand Six
“ Hundred and Sixty-Four to the States, and
“ exemption of Fifty Pence *per Tun* upon
“ *Dutch* Goods trading to that Kingdom.

“ BUT that these Articles in Favour of the
“ States should not be concluded, till the
“ Barrier-Treaty were explained to the
“ Queen's Satisfaction.

“ THAT the Duke of *Savoy* should be put
 “ in Possession of all taken from him in this
 “ War, and enjoy the Places yielded to him
 “ by the Emperor, and other Allies: That
 “ *France* should likewise yield to him *Exilles*,
 “ *Fenestrelles*, *Chaumont*, the Valley of *Pre-*
 “ *gata*, and the Land lying between *Pied-*
 “ *mount* and Mount *Genevere*.

“ THAT the Article about the Demolishing
 “ of *Dunkirk* should be explained.”

As to *Britain*, the Plenipotentiaries were to
 insist, “ That *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*, *Ghent*,
 “ and all Places which appear to be a Barrier
 “ rather against *England* than *France*, should
 “ either not be given to the *Dutch*, or at least
 “ in such a Manner, as not to hinder the
 “ Queen’s Subjects free Passage to and from
 “ the *Low Countries*.

“ THAT the Seventh Article of the Barrier-
 “ Treaty, which impowereth the States, in case
 “ of an Attack, to put Troops at Discretion
 “ in all the Places of the *Low Countries*, should
 “ be so explained as to be understood only of
 “ an Attack from *France*.

“ THAT

“ THAT *Britain* should Trade to the *Low*
 “ *Countries* with the same Privileges as the
 “ States themselves.

“ THAT the most Christian King should
 “ acknowledge the Succession of *Hanover*,
 “ and immediately oblige the Pretender to
 “ leave *France*; and that the said King should
 “ promise, for himself and his Heirs never
 “ to acknowledge any Person for King or
 “ Queen of *England*, otherwise than accord-
 “ ing to the Settlements now in Force.

“ THAT a Treaty of Commerce should be
 “ commenced, as soon as possible, between
 “ *France* and *Great-Britain*; and, in the
 “ mean Time, the necessary Points relating to
 “ it be settled.

“ THAT the Isle of *St. Christopher's* should
 “ be surrendered to the Queen, *Hudson's Bay*
 “ restored, *Placentia* and the whole Island of
 “ *Newfoundland* yielded to *Great-Britain* by
 “ the most Christian King; who was likewise
 “ to quit all Claim to *Nova Scotia* and *Anna-*
 “ *polis Royal*.

“ THAT *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* should be
 “ annexed to the *British* Crown.

“ THAT the Affiento should be granted to
“ *Britain* for Thirty Years, with the same
“ Advantage as to *France*; with an extent of
“ Ground on the River of *Plata*, for keeping
“ and refreshing the Negroes.

“ THAT *Spain* should grant to the Subjects
“ of *Great-Britain* as large Privileges as to
“ any other Nation whatsoever; as likewise an
“ Exemption of Duties, amounting to an Ad-
“ vantage of at least Fifteen *per cent*.

“ THAT Satisfaction should be demanded for
“ what should appear to be justly due to Her
“ Majesty from the Emperor and the States.

“ LASTLY, That the Plenipotentiaries
“ should consult with those of the Protestant
“ Allies the most effectual Methods for re-
“ storing the Protestants of *France* to their
“ Religious and Civil Liberties, and for the
“ immediate Release of those who are now in
“ the Gallies.”

WHAT Part of these Demands were to be
insisted on, and what were to be given up,
will appear by the Sequel of this Negotiation.
But there was no Difficulty of Moment enough
to

to retard the Peace, except a Method for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain* under one Prince, and settling the Barrier for *Holland*; which last, as claimed by the States, could, in Prudence and Safety, be no more allowed by us than by *France*.

THE States - General having appointed *Monf. Buys* to be one of their Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, that Minister left *England* a few Days after the Lord Privy-seal. In his last conference with the Lords of the Council, he absolutely declared, "That his Masters had
" done their utmost, both by Sea and Land;
" That it was unreasonable to expect more:
" That they had exceeded their Proportion,
" even beyond *Great-Britain*; and that as to
" the Emperor and other Allies, he knew no
" Expedient left for making them act with
" more Vigour, than to pursue them with pa-
" thetical Exhortations."

THIS Minister was sent over hither, instructed and impowered by Halves. The Ferment raised by the united Endeavours of our Party leaders, among whom he was a constant Fellow-labourer to the utmost of his Skill, had wholly confounded him; and, thinking to take the Advantage of negotiating

well for *Holland* at the Expence of *Great-Britain*, he acted but ill for his own Country, and worse for the common Cause. However, the Queen's Ministers and he parted with the greatest Civility; and Her Majesty's Present was double the Value of what is usual to the Character he bore.

As the Queen was determined to alter her Measures in making War, so she thought nothing would so much convince the States of the Necessity of a Peace, as to have them frequently put in Mind of this Resolution, which her Ambassador *Strafford*, then at the *Hague*, was accordingly directed to do: and if they should object, of what ill Consequence it would be for the Enemy to know Her Majesty designed to lessen her Expences, he might answer, "That the Ministers here were sorry
" for it; but the *Dutch* could only blame
" themselves, for forcing into such a Necessity a Princess, to whose Friendship they
" owed the Preservation and Grandeur of
" their Republick, and chusing to lean on a
" broken Faction, rather than place their
" Confidence in the Queen."

It was Her Majesty's earnest Desire, that there should be a perfect Agreement at this
Treaty

Treaty between the Ministers of all the Allies, than which nothing could be more effectual to make *France* comply with their just Demands: above all, she directed her Plenipotentiaries to enter into the strictest Confidence with those of *Holland*; and that, after the States had consented to explain the Barrier-Treaty to her reasonable Satisfaction, both Powers should form between them a Plan of general Peace, from which they would not recede, and such as might secure the Quiet of *Europe*, as well as the particular Interests of each Confederate. The *Dutch* were accordingly pressed, before the Congress opened, to come to some Temperament upon that Famous Treaty; because the Ministers here expected it would be soon laid before the House of Commons, by which the Resentment of that Nation would probably appear against those who had been Actors and Advisers in it: but Mons. *Buys*, who usually spoke for his Colleagues, was full of Opposition, began to expostulate upon the Advantages *Great-Britain* had stipulated with *France*, and to insist, that his Masters ought to share equally in them all, but especially the Assiento Contract: so that no Progress was made in fixing a previous good Correspondence between *Great-Britain* and the States, which her Majesty had so earnestly recommended.

CERTAIN Regulations having been agreed upon, for avoiding of Ceremony and other Inconveniencies, the Conferences began at *Utrecht*, upon the Twenty-Ninth of *January*, N. S. One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven-Twelve, at Ten in the Morning. The Ministers of the Allies going into the Town-House at one Door, and those of *France*, at the same Instant, at another, they all took their Seats without Distinction; and the Bishop of *Bristol*, Lord Privy-Seal, first Plenipotentiary of *Britain*, opened the Assembly with a short Speech, directed to the Ministers of *France*, in Words to the following Effect.

“ Messieurs,

“ WE are here met To-day, in the Name
 “ of God, to enter upon a Treaty of general
 “ Peace, between the High Allies and the
 “ King your Master. We bring sincere In-
 “ tentions, and express Orders from our Supe-
 “ riors, to concur, on their Part, with what-
 “ ever may advance and perfect so salutary
 “ and Christian a Work.

“ ON the other Side we hope you have
 “ the same Disposition; and that your
 “ Orders

“ Orders will be so full, as to be able, with-
“ out Loss of Time, to answer the Expectati-
“ on of the High Allies, by explaining your-
“ selves clearly and roundly in the Points we
“ shall have to settle upon these Conferences;
“ and that you will perform this in so plain
“ and specifick a Manner, as every Prince
“ and State in the Confederacy may find a just
“ and reasonable Satisfaction.

THE *French* began, by promising to explain the Overtures which *Moni. Mesnager* had delivered to the Queen some Months before, and to give in a specifick Project of what their Master would yield, provided the Allies would give each a specifick Answer, by making their several Demands; which Method, after many Difficulties, and affected Delays in the *Dutch*, was at length agreed to.

BUT the States, who had, with the utmost Discontent, seen Her Majesty at the Head of this Negotiation, where they intended to have placed themselves, began to discover their Ill-humour upon every Occasion; they raised endless Difficulties about settling the Barrier-Treaty, as the Queen desired; and, in one of the first general Conferences, they would not suffer the *British* Secretary to take the Minutes,
but

but nominated some *Dutch* Professor for that Office, which the Queen refused, and resented their Behaviour as an useless Cavil, intended only to shew their want of Respect. The *British* Plenipotentiaries had great Reason to suspect, that the *Dutch* were, at this Time, privately endeavouring to engage in some separate Measures with *France*, by the Intervention of one *Molo*, a busy factious Agent at *Amsterdam*, who had been often employed in such Intrigues: that this was the Cause which made them so litigious and slow in all their Steps, in hopes to break the Congress, and find better Terms for their Trade and Barrier, from the *French*, than we ever could think fit to allow them. The *Dutch* Ministers did also apply themselves with Industry to cultivate the Imperial Plenipotentiary's Favour, in order to secure all Advantages of Commerce with *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, in Case those Dominions could be procured for the Emperor: For this Reason they avoided settling any general Plan of Peace, in Concert with the Plenipotentiaries of *Great-Britain*, which her Majesty desired; and *Monf. Buys* plainly told their Lordships, that it was a Point, which neither he nor his Colleagues could consent to, before the States were admitted equal Sharers with *Great-Britain* in the Trade of *Spain*.

THE Court, having Notice of this untractable Temper in the *Dutch*, gave direct Orders to the Plenipotentiaries of *Great-Britain*, for pressing those of the States to adjust the gross Inequalities of the Barrier-Treaty, since nothing was more usual or agreeable to Reason than for Princes, who find themselves aggrieved by prejudicial Contracts, to expect they should be modified and explained. And since it now appeared by Votes in the House of Commons, that the Sense of the Nation agreed with what her Majesty desired, if the *Dutch* Ministers would not be brought to any moderate Terms upon this Demand, their Lordships were directed to improve and amend the particular Concessions made to *Great-Britain* by *France*, and form them into a Treaty; for the Queen was determined never to allow the States any Share in the Affiento, *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mabon*; nor could think it reasonable, that they should be upon an equal Foot with her in the Trade of *Spain*, to the Conquest whereof they had contributed so little.

NOR was the Conduct of the Imperial Minister at this Time less perplexing than that of the States, both those Powers appearing fully bent, either upon breaking off the Negoti-

Negotiation, or, upon forcing from the Queen those Advantages she expected by it for her own Kingdoms. Her Majesty therefore thought fit, about the Beginning of *March*, to send Mr. *Thomas Harley*, a near Relation of the Treasurer's, to *Utrecht*, fully informed of her Mind, which he was directed to communicate to the Plenipotentiaries of *Britain*.

Mr. *Harley* stopped in his way to *Utrecht* at the *Hague*, and there told the Pensionary, " That nothing had happened lately in
" *England* but what was long ago foretold
" him, as well as the other Ministers of the
" Allies: That the Proceedings of the House
" of Commons, particularly about the Barrier-
" Treaty, must chiefly be ascribed to the
" Manner in which the Queen and the Nation
" had been treated by Mons. *Bothmar*, Count
" *Gallas*, *Buys*, and other foreign Ministers:
" That if the States would yet enter into a strict
" Union with the Queen, give her Satisfaction
" in the said Treaty, and join in Concert with
" her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, a safe and
" advantageous Peace might be obtained for
" the whole Alliance; otherwise her Majesty
" must save her own Country, and join with
" such of her Allies as would join with her.

" As

“ As to the War, that the Conduct of the
“ Allies, and their Opposition to the Queen,
“ by private Intrigues carried on among her
“ own Subjects, as well as by open Remon-
“ strances, had made the House of Commons
“ take that Matter out of the Hands of the
“ Ministers.

“ LASTLY, that, in Case the present Treaty
“ were broken off by the *Dutch* refusing to
“ comply, Her Majesty thought it reasonable
“ to insist, that some cautionary Places be put
“ into her Hands as Pledges, that no other
“ Negotiation should be entered into by the
“ States-General, without her Participation.”

MR. *Harley's* Instructions to the Queen's
Plenipotentiaries were, “ That they should
“ press those of *France* to open themselves,
“ as far as possible, in concerting such a Plan
“ of a general Peace, as might give reasona-
“ ble Satisfaction to all the Confederates, and
“ such as her Parliament would approve:
“ That the People of *England* believed *France*
“ would consent to such a Plan, wherein if
“ they found themselves deceived, they would
“ be as eager for prosecuting the War as ever.”

THEIR

THEIR Lordships were to declare openly to the *Dutch*, “ That no Extremity should make
“ Her Majesty depart from insisting to have
“ the Assiento for her own Subjects, and to
“ keep *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*; but if
“ the States would agree with her upon these
“ three Heads, she would be content to re-
“ duce the Trade of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*
“ to the Condition it was in under the late
“ Catholick King *Charles* the II.”

THE *French* were farther to be pressed,
“ That the Pretender should be immediately
“ sent out of that Kingdom; and that the
“ most effectual Method should be taken, for
“ preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain*
“ under one Prince.”

ABOUT this Time her Majesty's Ministers, and those of the Allies at *Utrecht*, delivered in the several *Postulata*, or Demands of their Masters to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, which having been since made publick, and all of them, except those of *Great-Britain*, very much varying in the Course of the Negotiation, the Reader would be but ill entertained with a Transcript of them here.

UPON Intelligence of the last Dauphin's Death, the Father, Son, and Grandson, all of that Title, dying within the Compass of a Year, *Monf. Gaultier* went to *France*, with Letters to the Marquis of *Torcy*, to propose her Majesty's Expedient for preventing the Union of that Kingdom with *Spain*; which, as it was the most important Article to be settled, in order to secure Peace for *Europe*, so it was a Point that required to be speedily adjusted under the present Circumstances and Situation of the *Bourbon* Family, there being only left a Child of Two Years old to stand between the Duke of *Anjou* and his succeeding to the Crown of *France*.

HER Majesty likewise pressed *France*, by the same Dispatches, to send full Instructions to her Plenipotentiaries, empowering them to offer to the Allies such a Plan of Peace, as might give reasonable Satisfaction to all her Allies.

THE Queen's Proposal for preventing an Union between *France* and *Spain* was, " that
" *Philip* should formally renounce the King-
" dom of *France* for himself and his Poste-
" rity; and that this Renunciation should be
" confirmed

“ confirmed by the Courts or States of *Spain*,
“ who, without Question, would heartily
“ concur against such an Union, by which
“ their Country must become a Province to
“ *France*.” In like Manner, the *French*
Princes of the Blood were severally to renounce
all Title to *Spain*.

THE *French* raised many Difficulties upon
several Particulars of this Expedient; but the
Queen persisted to refuse any Plan of Peace
before this weighty Point were settled in the
Manner she proposed, which was afterwards
submitted to, as in proper Place we shall ob-
serve. In the mean Time, the Negotiation at
Utrecht proceeded with a very slow Pace; the
Dutch interposing all Obstructions they could
contrive, refusing to come to any reasonable
Temper upon the Barrier-Treaty, or to offer
a Plan, in Concert with the Queen, for a
general Peace. Nothing less would satisfy
them, than the Partaking in those Advantages
we had stipulated for ourselves, and which did
no ways interfere with their Trade or Security.
They still expected some Turn in *England*;
their Friends on this Side had ventured to
assure them, that the Queen could not live
many Months, which, indeed, from the bad
State of her Majesty's Health, was reasonable
to

to expect. The *British* Plenipotentiaries daily discovered new Endeavours of *Holland* to treat privately with *France*; and, lastly, those among the States, who desired the War should continue, strove to gain Time, until the Campaign should open; and, by resolving to enter into Action with the first Opportunity, render all Things desperate, and break up the Congress.

THIS Scheme did exactly fall in with Prince *Eugene's* Dispositions, whom the States had chosen for their General, and of whose Conduct, in this Conjunction, the Queen had too much Reason to be jealous; but her Majesty, who was resolved to do her utmost towards putting a good and speedy End to this War, having placed the Duke of *Ormond* at the Head of her Forces in *Flanders*, whither he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the Troops in *British* Pay, whether Subjects or Foreigners, immediately under his own Command, and to be cautious, for a while, in engaging in any Action of Importance, unless upon a very apparent Advantage. At the same time the Queen determined to make one thorough Trial of the Disposition of the States, by allowing them the utmost Concessions, that could any way suit either with her

Safety or Honour. She therefore directed her Ministers at *Utrecht*, to tell the *Dutch*, " That, " in order to shew how desirous she was to " live in perfect Amity with that Republick, " she would resign up the fifteen *per cent.* " Advantage upon *English* Goods sent to the " *Spanish* Dominions, which the *French* King " had offered her by a Power from his Grand- " son, and be content to reduce that Trade to " the State in which it was under the late King " of *Spain*. She would accept of any tolerable " softening of these Words in the Seventh Articles of the Barrier-Treaty, where it is said, " the States shall have Power, in case of an " apparent Attack, to put as many Troops as " they please into all the Places of the *Nether-* " *lands*, without specifying an Attack from " the Side of *France*, as ought to have been " done; otherwise, the Queen might justly " think they were preparing themselves " for a Rupture with *Great-Britain*. Her " Majesty likewise consented, that the States " should keep *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*, and the " Castle of *Ghent*, as an Addition to their " Barrier, although she were sensible how " injurious those Concessions would be to the " Trade of her Subjects; and would wave " the Demand of *Ostend* being delivered into " her Hands, which she might with Justice " insist

“ insist on. In return of all this, that the
 “ Queen only desired the Ministers of the
 “ States would enter into a close Correspond-
 “ ence with her’s, and settle between them
 “ some Plan of a General Peace, which
 “ might give reasonable Content to all her
 “ Allies, and which her Majesty would en-
 “ deavour to bring *France* to consent to. She
 “ desired the Trade of her Kingdoms to the
 “ *Netherlands*, and to the Towns of their
 “ Barrier, might be upon as good a Foot as
 “ it was before the War began: That the
 “ *Dutch* would not insist to have share in the
 “ Affiento, to which they had not the least
 “ Pretensions, and that they would no longer
 “ encourage the Intrigues of a Faction against
 “ her Government. Her Majesty assured them
 “ in plain Terms, that her own future Mea-
 “ sures, and the Conduct of her Plenipoten-
 “ tiaries, should be wholly governed by their
 “ Behaviour in these Points; and that her
 “ Offers were only conditional, in case of
 “ their Compliance with what she desired.”

BUT all these Proofs of the Queen’s Kind-
 ness and Sincerity could not avail. The
Dutch Ministers pleaded, they had no Power
 to concert the Plan of general Peace with those
 of *Great-Britain*: However, they assured the

latter, that the Affiento was the only Difficulty which stuck with their Masters. Whereupon, at their Desire, a Contract for that Traffick was twice read to them; after which they appeared very well satisfied, and said they would go to the *Hague* for further Instructions. Thither they went, and, after a Week's Absence, returned the same Answer, "That they had no Power to settle a Scheme of Peace; but could only discourse of it, when the Difficulties of the Barrier-Treaty were over." And *Monf. Buys* took a Journey to *Amsterdam*, on Purpose to stir up that City, where he was Pensionary, against yielding the Affiento to *Great-Britain*; but was unsuccessful in his Negotiation; the Point being yielded up there, and in most other Towns in *Holland*.

It will have an odd Sound in History, and appear hardly credible, that in several petty Republicks of single Towns, which make up the States-General, it should be formally debated, whether the Queen of *Great-Britain*, who preserved the Commonwealth at the Charge of so many Millions, should be suffered to enjoy, after a Peace, the Liberty granted her by *Spain* of selling *African* Slaves in the *Spanish* Dominions of *America*! But there was a prevailing Faction at the *Hague*, violently

lently bent against any Peace, where the Queen must act that Part which they had intended for themselves. These Politicians, who held constant Correspondence with their old dejected Friends in *England*, were daily fed with the vain Hopes of the Queen's Death, or the Party's Restoration. They likewise endeavoured to spin out the Time, till Prince *Eugene's* Activity had pushed on some great Event, which might govern or perplex the Conditions of Peace. Therefore the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, who proceeded by the Instructions of those mistaken Patriots, acted in every Point with a Spirit of Litigiousness, than which nothing could give greater Advantage to the Enemy; a strict Union between the Allies, but especially *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, being doubtless the only Means for procuring safe and honourable Terms from *France*.

BUT neither was this the worst; for the Queen received undoubted intelligence from *Utrecht*, that the *Dutch* were again attempting a separate Correspondence with *France*. And by Letters, intercepted here, from *Vienna*, it was found, that the Imperial Court, whose Ministers were in the utmost Confidence with those of *Holland*, expressed the most furious

Rage against her Majesty, for the Steps she had taken to advance a Peace.

THIS unjustifiable Treatment the Queen could not digest from an Ally, upon whom she had conferred so many signal Obligations, whom she had used with so much Indulgence and Sincerity during the whole Course of the Negotiation, and had so often invited to go along with her in every Motion towards a Peace. She apprehended likewise, that the Negotiation might be taken out of her Hands, if *France* could be secure of easier Conditions in *Holland*, or might think that *Great-Britain* wanted Power to influence the whole Confederacy. She resolved therefore, on this Occasion, to exert herself with Vigour, Steadiness, and Dispatch; and, in the Beginning of *May*, sent her Commands to the Earl of *Strafford* to repair immediately to *England*, in order to consult with her Ministers what was proper to be done.

THE Proposal above-mentioned, for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain*, met with many Difficulties; *Monf. de Torcy* raising Objections again several Parts of it. But the Queen refused to proceed any farther with *France*, until this weighty Point were fully settled

settled to her Satisfaction; after which, she promised to grant a Suspension of Arms, provided the Town and Citadel of *Dunkirk* might be delivered as a Pledge into her Hands; and proposed that *Ipres* might be surrendered to the *Dutch*, if they would consent to come into the Suspension. *France* absolutely refused the latter; and the States-General having acted in perpetual Contradiction to her Majesty, she pressed that Matter no farther; because she doubted they would not agree to a Cessation of Arms. However, she resolved to put a speedy End, or at least Intermission to her own Share in the War: and the *French* having declared themselves ready to agree to her Expedients, for preventing the Union of the two Crowns, and consented to the Delivery of *Dunkirk*; positive Orders were sent to the Duke of *Ormond* to avoid engaging in any Battle or Siege, until he had further Instructions; but he was directed to conceal his Orders, and to find the best Excuses he could, if any pressing Occasion should offer,

THE Reasons for this unusual Proceeding, which made a mighty Noise, were of sufficient Weight to justify it; for, pursuant to the Agreement made between us and *France*, a Courier was then dispatched from *Fontain-*

bleau to *Madrid*, with the offer of an Alternative to *Philip*, either of resigning *Spain* immediately to the Duke of *Savoy*, upon the Hopes of succeeding to *France*, and some present Advantage, which, not having been accepted, is needless to dilate on; or of adhering to *Spain*, and renouncing all future Claim to *France* for himself and his Posterity. Until it could be known which part *Philip* would accept, the Queen would not take possession of *Dunkirk*, nor suffer an Armistice to be declared. But, however, since the most Christian King had agreed that his Grandson should be forced in Case of a Refusal, to make his Choice immediately, her Majesty could not endure to think, that perhaps some Thousands of Lives of her own Subjects and Allies might be sacrificed, without Necessity, if an Occasion should be found or sought for fighting a Battle; which, she very well knew, Prince *Eugene* would eagerly attempt, and put all into Confusion, to gratify his own Ambition, the Enmity of his new Masters the *Dutch*, and the Rage of his Court.

BUT the Duke of *Ormond*, who, with every other Quality that can accomplish or adorn a great Man, inherits all the Valour and Loyalty of his Ancestors, found it very difficult

cult to acquit himself of his Commission ; for Prince *Eugene*, and all the Field-Deputies of the States, had begun already to talk either of attacking the Enemy, or besieging *Que-snoy*, the Confederate Army being now all joined by the Troops they expected ; and accordingly, about three Days after the Duke had received those Orders from Court, it was proposed to his Grace, at a meeting with the Prince and Deputies, that the *French* Army should be attacked, their Camp having been viewed, and a great Opportunity offering to do it with Success : For the *Marechal de Villars*, who had Notice sent him by *Monf. de Torcy* of what was passing, and had signified the same by a Trumpet to the Duke, shewed less Vigilance than was usual to that General, taking no Precautions to secure his Camp, or observe the Motions of the Allies, probably on Purpose to provoke them ; the Duke said, “ That
“ the Earl of *Strafford*’s sudden Departure for
“ *England* made him believe there was some-
“ thing of Consequence now transacting,
“ which would be known in four or five
“ Days ; and therefore desired they would de-
“ fer this or any other Undertaking, until he
“ could receive fresh Letters from *England*.”
Whereupon the Prince and Deputies immediately told the Duke, “ That they looked for such an
“ Answer

“ Answer as he had given them: That they
“ had suspected our Measures for some time,
“ and their Suspicions were confirmed by the
“ Express his Grace had so lately received, as
“ well as by the Negligence of *Monf. Villars*.”
They appeared extremely dissatisfied; and the
Deputies told the Duke, that they would im-
mediately send an Account of his Answer to
their Masters, which they accordingly did; and
soon after, by Order from the States, wrote
him an expostulating Letter, in a Style less
respectful than became them; desiring him,
among other Things, to explain himself,
whether he had positive Orders not to fight the
French; and afterwards told him, “ They
“ were sure he had such Orders, otherwise he
“ could not Answer what he had done.” But
the Duke still waved the Question, saying,
“ He would be glad to have Letters from
“ *England*, before he entered upon Action,
“ and that he expected them daily.”

UPON this Incident, the Ministers and Generals
of the Allies immediately took the Alarm, vent-
ing their Fury in very violent Expressions against
the Queen, and those she employed in her Coun-
cils: said, they were betrayed by *Great-Britain*,
and assumed the Countenance of those who
think

think they have received an Injury. and were disposed to return it.

THE Duke of *Ormond*'s Army consisted of Eighteen Thousand of her Majesty's Subjects, and about Thirty Thousand hired from other Princes, either wholly by the Queen, or jointly by her and the States. The Duke immediately informed the Court of the Dispositions he found among the Foreign Generals upon this Occasion: and that, upon an Exigency, he could only depend on the *British* Troops adhering to him; those of *Hanover*, having already determined to desert to the *Dutch*, tempted the *Danes* to do the like, and that he had Reason to suppose the same of the rest.

UPON the News arriving at *Utrecht*, that the Duke of *Ormond* had refused to engage in any Action against the Enemy, the *Dutch* Ministers there went immediately to make their Complaints to the Lord Privy-seal; aggravating the Strangeness of this Proceeding, together with the Consequence of it, in the Loss of a most favourable Opportunity for ruining the *French* Army, and the Discontent it must needs create in the whole Body of the Confederates. Adding, how hard it was that they should be kept in the dark, and have no
Communi-

Communication of what was done in a Point which so nearly concerned them. They concluded that the Duke must needs have acted by Orders; and desired his Lordship to write both to Court, and to his Grace, what they had now said.

THE Bishop answered, “ That he knew
“ nothing of this Fact, but what they had
“ told him; and therefore was not prepared
“ with a Reply to their Representations: only,
“ in general, he could venture to say, that
“ this Case appeared very like the Conduct of
“ their Field-Deputies upon former Occasi-
“ ons: that if such Orders were given, they
“ were certainly built upon very justifiable
“ Foundations, and would soon be so ex-
“ plained, as to convince the States, and
“ all the World, that the Common Interest
“ would be better provided for another Way,
“ than by a Battle or Siege: That the Want
“ of Communication, which they complained
“ of, could not make the States so uneasy as
“ their declining to receive it had made the
“ Queen, who had used her utmost Endea-
“ vours to persuade them to concur with her
“ in concerting every Step towards a general
“ Peace, and settling such a Plan as both Sides
“ might approve and adhere to; but, to this
Day,

“ Day, the States had not thought fit to accept those Offers, or to authorise any of their Ministers to treat with her Majesty’s Plenipotentiaries upon that Affair, although they had been pressed to it ever since the Negotiation began: That his Lordship, to shew that he did not speak his private Sense alone, took this Opportunity to execute the Orders he had received the Evening before, by declaring to them, that all her Majesty’s Offers for adjusting the Differences between her and the States were founded upon this express Condition, – That they should come immediately into the Queen’s Measures, and act openly and sincerely with her; and that, from their Conduct, so directly contrary, she now looked upon herself to be under no Obligation to them.”

MONS. BUYS and his Colleagues were stunned with this Declaration, made to them at a Time when they pretended to think the Right of Complaining to be on their Side, and had come to the Bishop upon that Errand. But after their Surprise was abated, and *Buy’s* long Reasonings at an End, they began to think how Matters might be retrieved; and were of Opinion, that the States should immediately dispatch a Minister to *England*, unless his Lordship

Lordship were impowered to treat with them; which, without new Commands, he said he was not. They afterwards desired to know of the Bishop, what the Meaning was of the last Words in his Declaration, "That her Majesty looked upon herself to be under no Obligation to them." He told them his Opinion, "That as the Queen was bound by Treaty to concert with the States the Conditions of a Peace, so, upon their declining the Concert so frequently offered, she was acquitted of that Obligation; but that he verily believed, whatever Measures her Majesty should take, she would always have a Friendly Regard to the Interest of their Commonwealth; and that as their Unkindness had been very unexpected and disagreeable to her Majesty, so their Compliance would be equally pleasing."

I HAVE been the more circumstantial in relating this Affair, because it furnished Abundance of Discourse, and gave Rise to many wild Conjectures and Misrepresentations, as well here as in *Holland*, especially that Part which concerned the Duke of *Ormond*; for the angry Faction in the House of Commons, upon the first Intelligence, that the Duke had declined to act offensively against *France*, in
Concurrence

Concurrence with the Allies, moved for an Address, wherein the Queen should be informed of “ the deep Concern of her Commons
“ for the dangerous Consequences to the
“ Common Cause, which must arise from this
“ Proceeding of her General; and to beseech
“ her, that speedy Instructions might be given
“ to the Duke to prosecute the War with
“ Vigour, in order to quiet the Minds of her
“ People, &c.” But a great Majority was against this Motion, and a Resolution drawn up and presented to the Queen by the whole House of a quite contrary Tenour, “ That
“ they had an intire Confidence in her Majesty’s most gracious Promise, to communicate to her Parliament the Terms of the
“ Peace, before the same should be concluded;
“ and that they would support her Majesty, in
“ obtaining an honourable and safe Peace,
“ against all such Persons, either at Home or
“ Abroad, who have endeavoured, or shall
“ endeavour, to obstruct the same.”

THE Courier sent with the Alternative to *Spain* was now returned, with an Account that *Philip* had chosen to renounce *France* for himself and his Posterity; whereof the Queen having received Notice, her Majesty, upon the Sixth of *June*, in a long Speech to both Houses

Houses of Parliament, laid before them the Terms of a general Peace, stipulated between her and *France*. This Speech, being the Plan whereby both *France* and the Allies have been obliged to proceed in the subsequent Course of the Treaty, I shall desire the Reader's Leave to insert it at Length, although I believe it hath been already in most Hands.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The making Peace and War is the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown; yet
“ such is the just Confidence I place in you,
“ that, at the opening of this Session, I acquainted you that a Negotiation for a general Peace was begun; and afterwards, by
“ Messages, I promised to communicate to
“ you the Terms of Peace, before the same
“ should be concluded.

“ In pursuance of that Promise, I now
“ come to let you know upon what Terms a
“ general Peace may be made.

“ I need not mention the Difficulties which
“ arise from the very Nature of this Affair;
“ and it is but too apparent, that these Difficulties have been increased by other Obstructions,
“

“structions, artfully contrived to hinder this
“great and good Work.

“NOTHING, however, hath moved me from
“steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true
“Interests of my own Kingdoms; and I have
“not omitted any thing, which might procure
“to all our Allies what is due to them by
“Treaties, and what is necessary for their
“Security.

“THE assuring of the Protestant Succession,
“as by Law established in the House of *Ha-*
“*nover*, to these Kingdoms, being what I
“have nearest at Heart, particular Care is
“taken not only to have that acknowledged
“in the strongest Terms, but to have an addi-
“tional Security, by the removal of that
“Person out of the Dominions of *France*,
“who hath pretended to disturb this Settle-
“ment.

“THE Apprehension that *Spain* and the
“*West-Indies* might be united to *France* was
“the chief Inducement to begin this War;
“and the effectual preventing such an Union
“was the Principle I laid down at the Com-
“mencement of this Treaty; former Exam-
“ples, and the late Negotiations, sufficiently
VOL. IX. R shew

“ shew how difficult it is to find means to
“ accomplish this Work. I would not con-
“ tent myself with such as are speculative, or
“ depend on Treaties only: I insisted on what
“ was solid, and to have at hand the Power of
“ executing what should be agreed.

“ I CAN therefore now tell you, that *France*
“ at last is brought to offer, that the Duke of
“ *Anjou* shall, for himself and his Descendants,
“ renounce for ever all Claim to the Crown
“ of *France*; and that this important Article
“ may be exposed to no Hazard, the Perform-
“ ance is to accompany the Promise.

“ AT the same Time the Succession to the
“ Crown of *France* is to be declared, after
“ the Death of the present Dauphin and his
“ Sons, to be in the Duke of *Berry* and his
“ Sons, in the Duke of *Orleans* and his Sons,
“ and so on to the rest of the House of
“ *Bourbon*.

“ As to *Spain* and the *Indies*, the Successi-
“ on to those Dominions, after the Duke of
“ *Anjou* and his Children, is to descend to
“ such Prince as shall be agreed upon at the
“ Treaty, for ever excluding the rest of the
“ House of *Bourbon*.

“ FOR

“ FOR confirming the Renunciations and
“ Settlements before-mentioned, it is further
“ offered, that they should be ratified in the
“ most strong and solemn Manner, both in
“ *France* and *Spain*; and that those King-
“ doms, as well as all the other Powers en-
“ gaged in the present War, shall be Guaranties to the same.

“ THE Nature of this Proposal is such,
“ that it executeth itself: The Interest of
“ *Spain* is to support it; and in *France*, the
“ Persons, to whom that Succession is to be-
“ long, will be ready and powerful enough
“ to vindicate their own right.

“ *France* and *Spain* are now more effectually
“ divided than ever. And thus, by the
“ Blessing of God, will a real Balance of
“ Power be fixed in *Europe*, and remain liable to as few Accidents as human Affairs
“ can be exempted from.

“ A TREATY of Commerce between these
“ Kingdoms and *France* hath been entered
“ upon, but the excessive Duties laid on some
“ Goods, and the Prohibitions of others,
“ make it impossible to finish this Work so

“ soon as were to be desired. Care is how-
 “ ever taken to establish a Method of settling
 “ this Matter; and in the mean time Provisi-
 “ on is made, that the same Privileges and
 “ Advantages, as shall be granted to any
 “ other Nation by *France*, shall be granted
 “ in like Manner to us.

“ THE Division of the Island of *St. Christo-*
 “ *pher*, between us and the *French*, having
 “ been the Cause of great Inconveniency and
 “ Damage to my Subjects, I have demanded
 “ to have an absolute Cession made to me of
 “ the whole Island, and *France* agrees to this
 “ Demand.

“ OUR Interest is so deeply concerned in
 “ the Trade of *North America*, that I have
 “ used my utmost endeavours to adjust that Ar-
 “ ticle in the most beneficial Manner. *France*
 “ consenteth to restore to us the whole Bay and
 “ Streights of *Hudson*, to deliver up the Island
 “ of *Newfoundland*, with *Placentia*; and to
 “ make an absolute Cession of *Annapolis*,
 “ with the rest of *Nova Scotia*, or *Accadie*:
 “ The Safety of our Home Trade will be
 “ better provided for by the Demolition of
 “ *Dunkirk*.

“ OUR

“ OUR *Mediterranean* Trade, and the *British* Interest and Influence in those Parts,
 “ will be secured by the Possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, with the whole
 “ Island of *Minorca*, which are offered to
 “ remain in my Hands.

“ THE Trade to *Spain* and the *West-Indies* may in general be settled, as it was
 “ in the Time of the late King of *Spain*,
 “ *Charles* the II^d. and a particular Provision
 “ be made, that all Advantages, Rights, or
 “ Privileges, which have been granted, or
 “ may hereafter be granted, by *Spain* to
 “ any other Nation, shall be in like Manner
 “ granted to the Subjects of *Great-Britain*.

“ BUT the Part which we have borne in
 “ the Prosecution of this War intitling us
 “ to some Distinction in the Terms of Peace,
 “ I have insisted, and obtained, that the
 “ *Assiento*, or Contract for furnishing the
 “ *Spanish West-Indies* with Negroes, shall
 “ be made with us for the Term of thirty
 “ Years, in the same Manner as it has been
 “ enjoyed by the *French* for ten Years past.

“ I HAVE not taken upon me to determine
 “ the Interests of our Confederates; these

“ must be adjusted in the Congress at *Utrecht*,
“ where my best Endeavours shall be em-
“ ployed, as they have hitherto constantly been,
“ to procure to every one of them all just and
“ reasonable Satisfaction. In the mean Time,
“ I think it proper to acquaint you, that
“ *France* offereth to make the *Rhine* the Bar-
“ rier of the Empire ; to yield *Brisac*, the
“ Fort of *Kehl*, and *Landau*, and to rase all
“ the Fortresses, both on the other Side of
“ the *Rhine*, and in that River.

“ As to the Protestant Interest in *Germany*,
“ there will be on the Part of *France* no
“ Objection to the resettling thereof, on the
“ Foot of the Treaty of *Westphalia*.

“ THE *Spanish* Low Countries may go to
“ his Imperial Majesty : the Kingdoms of
“ *Naples* and *Sardinia*, the Dutchy of *Mi-*
“ *lan*, and the Places belonging to *Spain* on
“ the Coast of *Tuscany*, may likewise be
“ yielded by the Treaty of Peace to the Em-
“ peror.

“ As to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, though
“ there remains no Dispute concerning the
“ Cession of it by the Duke of *Anjou*, yet
“ the

“ the Disposition thereof is not yet deter-
“ mined.

“ THE Interests of the States-General,
“ with Respect to Commerce, are agreed to,
“ as they have been demanded by their own
“ Ministers, with the Exception only of some
“ very few Species of Merchandize ; and the
“ intire Barrier, as demanded by the States
“ in One thousand seven hundred and nine,
“ from *France*, except two or three Places
“ at most.

“ As to these Exceptions, several Expe-
“ dients are proposed ; and I make no doubt
“ but this Barrier may be so settled, as to
“ render that Republic perfectly secure against
“ any Enterprize on the Part of *France* ;
“ which is the Foundation of all my En-
“ gagements upon this Head with the States.

“ THE Demands of *Portugal* depending on
“ the Disposition of *Spain*, and that Article
“ having been long in Dispute, it hath not
“ been yet possible to make any consider-
“ able Progress therein ; but my Plenipoten-
“ tiaries will now have an Opportunity to
“ assist that King in his Pretensions.

“ THOSE of the King of *Prussia* are such
“ as, I hope, will admit of little Difficulty on
“ the Part of *France*; and my utmost En-
“ deavours shall not be wanting to procure
“ all I am able to so good an Ally.

“ THE Difference between the Barrier
“ demanded for the Duke of *Savoy*, in One
“ thousand seven hundred and nine, and the
“ Offers now made by *France*, is very in-
“ considerable: but, that, Prince having so
“ signally distinguished himself in the Ser-
“ vice of the common Cause, I am endea-
“ vouring to procure for him still farther Ad-
“ vantages.

“ *France* hath consented, that the Elector
“ *Palatine* shall continue his present Rank
“ among the Electors, and remain in Possessi-
“ on of the upper *Palatinate*.

“ THE electoral Dignity is likewise ac-
“ knowledged in the House of *Hanover*,
“ according to the Article inserted at that
“ Prince's Desire in my Demands.

“ AND as to the rest of the Allies, I make
“ no doubt of being able to secure their se-
“ veral Interests. “ My

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I HAVE now communicated to you, not
 “ only the Terms of Peace, which may, by
 “ the future Treaty, be obtained for my own
 “ Subjects; but likewise the Proposals of
 “ *France*, for satisfying our Allies.

“ THE former are such as I have Reason
 “ to expect, to make my People some Amends
 “ for that great and unequal Burden which
 “ they have lain under, through the whole
 “ Course of this War; and I am willing to
 “ hope, that none of our Confederates, and
 “ especially those to whom so great Accessions
 “ of Dominion and Power are to accrue by
 “ this Peace, will envy *Great-Britain* her
 “ Share in the Glory and Advantage of it.

“ THE latter are not yet so perfectly ad-
 “ justed, as a little more Time might have
 “ rendered them; but the Season of the Year
 “ making it necessary to put an End to this
 “ Session, I resolved no longer to defer com-
 “ municating these matters to you.

“ I CAN make no doubt but you are all
 “ fully persuaded, that nothing will be neg-
 “ lected

“ lected on my Part, in the Progress of the
“ Negotiation, to bring the Peace to an happy
“ and speedy Issue ; and I depend on your in-
“ tire Confidence in me, and your chearful
“ Concurrence with me.”

THE discontented Party in the House of Commons, finding the Torrent against them not to be stemmed, suspended their Opposition ; by which Means an Address was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her Majesty's Condescension, to express their Satisfaction in what she had already done, and to desire she would please to proceed with the present Negotiations for the obtaining a speedy Peace.

DURING these Transactions at Home, the Duke of *Ormond* was in a very uneasy Situation at the Army, employed in practising those Arts which perhaps are fitter for a subtle Negotiator than a great Commander. But as he had always proved his Obedience, where Courage or Conduct could be of Use ; so the Duty he professed to his Prince made him submit to continue in a State of Inactivity at the Head of his Troops, however contrary to his Nature, if it were for her Majesty's Service. He had sent early Notice to
the

the Ministers, that he could not depend upon the foreign Forces in the Queen's Pay, and he now found some Attempts were already begun to seduce them.

WHILE the Courier was expected from *Madrid*, the Duke had Orders to inform the Marechal *de Villars* of the true State of this Affair; that his Grace would have decisive Orders in three or four Days. In the mean Time, he desired the Marechal would not oblige him to come to any Action, either to defend himself, or to join with Prince EUGENE's Army; which he must necessarily do, if the Prince were attacked.

WHEN the Courier was arrived with the Account, that *Philip* had chosen to accept of *Spain*, her Majesty had proposed to *France* a Suspension of Arms for two Months (to be prolonged three or four), between the Armies now in *Flanders*, upon the following Conditions:

“ THAT, during the Suspension, Endeavours should be used for concluding a general Peace; or, at least, the Article for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain*, should be punctually executed by *Philip's* renounce-

“ renouncing *France*, for himself and his
“ Posterity; and the Princes of *Bourbon*, in
“ like Manner, renouncing *Spain*: and that
“ the Town, Citadel, and Forts of *Dunkirk*,
“ should be immediately delivered into the
“ Queen’s Hands.” Her Majesty at the same
Time endeavoured to get *Cambray* for the
Dutch, provided they would come into the
Suspension. But this was absolutely rejected
by *France*, which that Court would never
have ventured to do, if those Allies could have
been prevailed on to have acted with Sincerity
and Openness in Concert with her Majesty,
as her Plenipotentiaries had always desired.
However, the Queen promised, that,
if the States would yield to a Suspension of
Arms, they should have some valuable Pledge
put into their Possession.

BUT now fresh Intelligence daily arrived,
both from *Utrecht* and the Army, of Attempts
to make the Troops in her Majesty’s Pay
desert her Service; and a Design even of
seizing the *British* Forces was whispered
about, and with Reason suspected.

WHEN the Queen’s Speech was published
in *Holland*, the Lord Privy-seal told the
Dutch Ministers at *Utrecht*, “ That what
“ her

“ her Majesty had laid before her Parlia-
“ ment could not, according to the Rules of
“ Treaty, be looked on as the utmost of
“ what *France* would yield in the Course of
“ a Negotiation ; but only the utmost of
“ what that Crown would propose, in or-
“ der to form the Plan of a Peace : That
“ these Conditions would certainly have been
“ better, if the States had thought fit to
“ have gone Hand in Hand with her Ma-
“ jesty, as she had so frequently exhorted
“ them to do : That Nothing but the Want
“ of Harmony among the Allies had spirit-
“ ed the *French* to stand out so long : That
“ the Queen would do them all the good
“ Offices in her Power, if they thought fit
“ to comply ; and did not doubt of getting
“ them reasonable Satisfaction, both in Re-
“ lation to their Barrier and their Trade.”

But this Reasoning made no Impression : The
Dutch Ministers said, the Queen's Speech had
deprived them of the Fruits of the War.
They were in Pain, lest *Lisle* and *Tournay*
might be two of the Towns to be excepted
out of their Barrier. The rest of the Allies
grew angry, by the Example of the *Dutch*.
The Populace in *Holland* began to be in-
flamed : They publickly talked, that *Great-*
Britain

Britain had betrayed them. Sermons were preached in several Towns of their Provinces, whether by Direction or Connivance, filled with the highest Instances of Disrespect to her *Britannick* Majesty, whom they charged as a Papist, and an Enemy to their Country. The Lord Privy-seal himself believed something extraordinary was in Agitation, and that his own Person was in Danger from the Fury of the People.

It is certain, that the States appeared but a few Days very much disposed to comply with the Measures the Queen had taken, and would have consented to a general Armistice, if Count *Zinzendorf*, one of the Plenipotentiaries for the Emperor, had not, by direct Orders from his Court, employed himself in sowing Jealousies between *Great-Britain* and the States; and at the same Time made prodigious Offers to the latter, as well as to the Ministers of *Prussia*, the *Palatinate*, and *Hanover*, for continuing the War. That those three Electors, who contributed nothing, except Bodies of Men in return of Pay and Subsidies, should readily accept the Proposals of the Emperor, is easy to be accounted for. What appeareth hardly credible is, that a grave Republick, usually

usually cautious enough in making their Bargains, should venture to reject the Thoughts of a Peace upon the Promises of the House of *Austria*, the little Validity whereof they had so long experienced; and especially when they counted upon losing the Support of *Great-Britain* their most powerful Ally; but the false Hopes given them by their Friends in *England* of some new Change in their Favour, or an Imagination of bringing *France* to better Terms by the Appearance of Resolution, added to the Weakness or Corruption of some, who administered their Affairs, were the true Causes which first created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable Temper among them.

THE *Dutch* Ministers were wholly disconcerted and surprised, when the Lord Privy-seal told them, "That a Suspension of Arms
" in the *Netherlands* would be necessary; and
" that the Duke of *Ormond* intended very
" soon to declare it, after he had taken Possession of *Dunkirk*." But his Lordship endeavoured to convince them, that this Incident ought rather to be a Motive for hastening the States into a Compliance with her Majesty. He likewise communicated to the Ministers of the Allies the Offers made by *France*, as
delivered

delivered in the Speech from the Throne, which her Majesty thought to be satisfactory, and hoped their Masters would concur with her in bringing the Peace to a speedy Conclusion, wherein each, in particular, might be assured of her best Offices for advancing their just Pretensions.

IN the mean Time, the Duke of *Ormond* was directed to send a Body of Troops to take Possession of *Dunkirk*, as soon as he should have Notice from the *Marechal de Villars*, that the Commandant of the Town had received Orders from his Court to deliver it; but the Duke foresaw many Difficulties in the executing this Commission. He could trust such an Enterprize to no Forces, except those of her Majesty's own Subjects. He considered the Temper of the States in this Conjunction, and was loth to divide a small Body of Men, upon whose Faithfulness alone he could depend. He thought it not prudent to expose them to march through the Enemy's Country, with whom there was yet neither Peace nor Truce; and he had sufficient Reasons to apprehend, that the *Dutch* would either not permit such a Detachment to pass through their Towns

Towns (as themselves had more than hinted to him) or would seize them as they passed: Besides, the Duke had very fairly signified to *Marechal de Villars*, that he expected to be deserted by all the foreign Troops in her Majesty's Pay, as soon as the Armistice should be declared; at which the *Marechal* appearing extremely disappointed said, "the King his Master reckoned, that all the Troops under his Grace's Command should yield to the Cessation; and wondered how it should come to pass, that those who might be paid for lying still would rather chuse, after a ten Years War, to enter into the Service of new Masters, under whom they must fight on for nothing." In short, the Opinion of *Monf. Villars* was, that this Difficulty cancelled the Promise of surrendering *Dunkirk*; which therefore he opposed as much as possible, in the Letters he writ to his Court.

UPON the Duke of *Ormond*'s representing those Difficulties, the Queen altered her Measures, and ordered Forces to be sent from *England* to take Possession of *Dunkirk*. The Duke was likewise commanded to tell the foreign Generals in her Majesty's Service, how highly she would resent their Desertion; after which, their Masters must give up all Thoughts of

any Arrears, either of Pay or Subsidy. The Lord Privy-Seal spoke the same Language at *Utrecht*, to the several Ministers of the Allies; as Mr. Secretary St. *John* did to those who resided here; adding, "That the Proceeding
" of the foreign Troops would be looked
" upon as a Declaration for or against her
" Majesty: And that, in Case they desert her
" Service, she would look on herself as justified, before God and Man, to continue her
" Negotiation at *Utrecht*, or any other Place,
" whether the Allies concur or not." And particularly the *Dutch* were assured, "That
" if their Masters seduced the Forces hired
" by the Queen, they must take the whole
" Pay, Arrears, and Subsidies on themselves."

THE Earl of *Strafford*, preparing about this Time to return to *Utrecht*, with Instructions proper to the present Situation of Affairs, went first to the Army, and there informed the Duke of *Ormond* of her Majesty's Intentions. He also acquainted the States Deputies with the Queen's Uneasiness, lest, by the Measures they were taking, they should drive her to Extremities, which she desired so much to avoid. He farther represented to them, in the plainest Terms, the Provocations her Majesty had

had received, and the Grounds and Reasons for her present Conduct. He likewise declared to the Commanders in Chief of the foreign Troops, in the Queen's Pay, and in the joint Pay of *Great-Britain* and the States, with how much Surprise her Majesty had heard, " That
 " there was the least Doubt of their obeying
 " the Orders of the Duke of *Ormond*; which
 " if they refused, her Majesty would esteem
 " it not only as an Indignity and Affront, but
 " as a Declaration against her; and, in such a
 " Case, they must look on themselves as no
 " farther intitled either to any Arrear, or fu-
 " ture Pay or Subsidies."

Six Regiments, under the Command of Mr. *Hill*, were now preparing to embark, in order to take Possession of *Dunkirk*; and the Duke of *Ormond*, upon the first Intelligence sent him, that the *French* were ready to deliver the Town, was to declare he could act no longer against *France*. The Queen gave Notice immediately of her Proceedings to the States. She let them plainly know, " That
 " their perpetual Caballing with her factious
 " Subjects, against her Authority, had forced
 " her into such Measures, as otherwise she
 " would not have engaged in. However, her
 " Majesty was willing yet to forget all that had

“ passed, and to unite with them in the strictest
 “ Ties of Amity, which she hoped they would
 “ now do; since they could not but be con-
 “ vinced, by the late dutiful Addresses of both
 “ Houses, how far their High Mightinesses
 “ had been deluded, and drawn in as Instru-
 “ ments to serve the Turn, and gratify the
 “ Passions, of a disaffected Party: That their
 “ Opposition, and want of Concert with her
 “ Majesty’s Ministers, which she had so often
 “ invited them to; had encouraged *France* to
 “ except Towns out of their Barrier, which
 “ otherwise might have been yielded: That,
 “ however, she had not precluded them, or
 “ any other Ally, from demanding more; and
 “ even her own Terms were but conditional,
 “ upon Supposition of a general Peace to en-
 “ sue: That her Majesty resolved to act upon
 “ the Plan laid down in her Speech;” and
 she repeated the Promise of her best Offices to
 promote the Interest of the States, if they
 would deal sincerely with her.

SOME Days before the Duke of *Ormond* had
 Notice, that Orders were given for the Sur-
 render of *Dunkirk*, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*
 sent for the Generals of the Allies, and asked
 them severally, whether, in Case the Armies
 separated, they would march with him, or stay
 with

with the Duke? All of them, except two, who commanded but small Bodies, agreed to join with the Prince; who thereupon, about three Days after, sent the Duke Word, that he intended to march the following Day (as it was supposed) to besiege *Landrecy*. The Duke returned an Answer, “ That he was surprised
“ at the Prince’s Message, there having been
“ not the least previous Concert with him, nor
“ any Mention in the Message, which Way,
“ or upon what Design, the March was intended: Therefore, that the Duke could
“ not resolve to march with him; much less
“ could the Prince expect Assistance from the
“ Queen’s Army, in any Design undertaken after this Manner.” The Duke told this beforehand, that he (the Prince) might take his Measures accordingly, and not attribute to her Majesty’s General any Misfortune that might happen.

ON the Sixteenth of *July*, N. S. the several Generals of the Allies joined Prince *Eugene*’s Army, and began their March, after taking Leave of the Duke and the Earl of *Strafford*, whose Expostulations could not prevail on them to stay; although the latter assured them, that the Queen had made neither Peace
nor

nor Truce with *France*, and that her Forces would now be left exposed to the Enemy.

THE nex Day after this famous Desertion, the Duke of *Ormond* received a Letter from *Monf. de Villars*, with an Account, that the Town and Citadel of *Dunkirk* should be delivered to *Mr. Hill*. Whereupon a Cessation of Arms was declared, by Sound of Trumpet, at the Head of the *British* Army; which now consisted only of about eighteen Thousand Men, all of her Majesty's Subjects, except the *Holsteiners* and Count *Wallis's* Dragoons. With this small Body of Men the General began his March; and, pursuant to Orders from Court, retired towards the Sea, in the Manner he thought most convenient for the Queen's Service. When he came as far as *Flines*, he was told by some of his Officers, that the Commandants of *Bouchain*, *Douay*, *Lisle*, and *Tournay*, had refused them Passage through those Towns, or even Liberty of Entrance, and said it was by Order of their Masters. The Duke immediately recollected, that when the Deputies first heard of his Resolution to withdraw his Troops, they told him, they hoped he did not intend to march through any of their Towns. This made him conclude, that the Orders must be general, and that his Army would

would certainly meet with the same Treatment which his Officers had done. He had likewise, before the Armies separated, received Information of some Designs that concerned the Safety, or at least the Freedom of his own Person, and (which he much more valued) that of those few *British* Troops intrusted to his Care. No General was ever more truly or deservedly beloved by his Soldiers, who, to a Man, were prepared to sacrifice their Lives in his Service; and whose Resentments were raised to the utmost, by the Ingratitude, as they termed it, of their Deserters.

UPON these Provocations, he laid aside all Thoughts of returning to *Dunkirk*, and began to consider how he might perform, in so difficult a Conjuncture, something important to the Queen, and at the same Time find a secure Retreat for his Forces. He formed his Plan without communicating it to any Person whatsoever; and the Disposition of the Army being to march towards *Warneton*, in the Way to *Dunkirk*, he gave sudden Orders to Lieutenant-General *Cadogan* to change his Route, according to the military Phrase, and move towards *Orchies*, a Town leading directly to *Ghent*. When Prince *Eugene* and the States Deputies received News of the Duke's Motions,

tions, they were alarmed to the utmost Degree, and sent Count *Nassau*, of *Wardenburg*, to the General's Camp near *Orcbies*, to excuse what had been done, and to assure his Grace, that those Commandants, who had refused Passage to his Officers, had acted wholly without Orders. Count *Hempfeck*, one of the *Dutch* Generals, came likewise to the Duke with the same Story ; but all this made little Impression on the General, who held on his March, and on the Twenty-third of *July*, N. S. entered *Ghent*, where he was received with great Submission by the Inhabitants, and took Possession of the Town, as he likewise did of *Bruges*, a few Days after.

THE Duke of *Ormond* thought, that, considering the present Disposition of the States towards *Great-Britain*, it might be necessary for the Queen to have some Pledge from that Republick in her Hands, as well as from *France*, by which Means her Majesty would be empowered to act that Part that best became her, of being Mediator at least : That while *Ghent* was in the Queen's Hands, no Provisions could pass the *Scheld* or the *Lis* without her Permission, by which he had it in his Power to starve their Army. The Possession of these Towns might likewise teach the *Dutch* and *Imperialists*,

to preserve a Degree of Decency and Civility to her Majesty, which both of them were upon some Occasions too apt to forget : And besides, there was already in the Town of *Ghent* a Battalion of *British* Troops and a Detachment of five Hundred Men in the Citadel, together with a great Quantity of Ammunition-Stores for the Service of the War, which would certainly have been seized or embezzled ; so that no Service could be more seasonable or useful in the present Juncture than this, which the Queen highly approved, and left the Duke a discretionary Power to act as he thought fit on any future Emergency.

I HAVE a little intercepted the Order of Time, in relating the Duke of *Ormond's* Proceedings, who, after having placed a Garrison at *Bruges*, and sent a Supply of Men and Ammunition to *Dunkirk*, retired to *Ghent*, where he continued some Months, until he had Leave to return to *England*,

UPON the Arrival of Colonel *Disney* to Court, with an Account that Mr. *Hill* had taken Possession of *Dunkirk*, an universal Joy spread over the Kingdom, this Event being looked on as the certain Fore-runner of a Peace : Besides, the *French* Faith was in so ill a Reputation
among

among us, that many Persons, otherwise sanguine enough, could never bring themselves to believe, that the Town would be delivered, until certain Intelligence came that it was actually in our Hands. Neither were the Ministers themselves altogether at Ease, or free from Suspicion, whatever Countenance they made; for they knew very well, that the *French* King had many plausible Reasons to elude his Promise, if he found Cause to repent it. One Condition of surrendering *Dunkirk* being a general Armistice of all the Troops in the *British* Pay, which her Majesty was not able to perform; and upon this Failure, the *Marechal de Villars* (as we have before related) endeavoured to dissuade his Court from accepting the Conditions: And, in the very Interval, while those Difficulties were adjusting, the *Marechal de Huxelles*, one of the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* (whose Inclinations, as well as those of his Colleague *Monf. Mesnager*, led him to favour the States more than *Great-Britain*) assured the Lord Privy-seal, that the *Dutch* were then pressing to enter into separate Measures with his Master: And his Lordship, in a Visit to the *Abbé de Polignac*, observing a Person to withdraw as he entered the *Abbe's* Chamber, was told by this Minister, that the Person he saw was one *Moleau*, of *Amsterdam*,
mentioned

mentioned before, a famous Agent for the States with *France*, who had been entertaining him (the Abbé) upon the same Subject, but that he had refused to treat with *Moleau*, without the Privy of *England*.

MR. HARLEY, whom we mentioned above to have been sent early in the Spring to *Utrecht*, continued longer in *Holland* than was at first expected; but having received her Majesty's farther Instructions, was about this Time arrived at *Hanover*. It was the Misfortune of his Electoral Highness to be very ill served by *Monf. Bothmar*, his Envoy here, who assisted at all the factious Meetings of the discontented Party, and deceived his Master by a false Representation of the Kingdom, drawn from the Opinion of those to whom he confined his Conversation. There was likewise at the Elector's Court a little *Frenchman*, without any Merit or Consequence, called *Robithan*, who, by the Assistance and Encouragement of the last Ministry, had insinuated himself into some Degree of that Prince's Favour, which he used in giving his Master the worst Impressions he was able of those whom the Queen employed in her Service; insinuating, that the present Ministers were not in the Interest of his Highness's Family; that their Views were towards
the

the Pretender; that they were making an unsecure and dishonourable Peace; that the Weight of the Nation was against them; and that it was impossible for them to preserve much longer their Credit or Power.

THE Earl *Rivers* had, in the foregoing Year, been sent to *Hanover*, in order to undeceive the Elector, and remove whatever Prejudices might be infused into his Highness against her Majesty's Proceedings; but it should seem, that he had no very great Success in his Negotiation: For, soon after his Return to *England*, *Monf. Bothmar's* Memorial appeared in the Manner I have already related, which discovered the Sentiments of his Electoral Highness (if they were truly represented in that Memorial) to differ not a little from those of the Queen. Mr. *Harley* was therefore directed to take the first Opportunity of speaking to the Elector in private, to assure him, " That although her
" Majesty had thought herself justly provoked
" by the Conduct of his Minister, yet such
" was her Affection for his Highness, and
" Concern for the Interests of his Family, that,
" instead of shewing the least Mark of Re-
" sentment, she had chosen to send him (Mr.
" *Harley*) fully instructed to open her Designs,
" and shew his Highness the real Interest of
" Great-

" *Great-Britain* in the present Conjunction." Mr. *Harley* was to give the Elector a true Account of what had passed in *England*, during the first Part of this Session of Parliament; to expose to his Highness the Weakness of those with whom his Minister had consulted, and under whose Directions he had acted; to convince him how much lower that Faction must become, when a Peace should be concluded, and when the natural Strength of the Kingdom, disincumbered from the Burthen of the War, should be at Liberty to exert itself; to shew him how his Interest in the Succession was sacrificed to that of a Party: That his Highness had been hitherto a Friend to both Sides, but that the Measures taken by his Ministers had tended only to set him at the Head of one in Opposition to the other: To explain to the Elector, how fully the Safety of *Europe* was provided for by the Plan of Peace in her Majesty's Speech; and how little Reason those would appear to have, who complained the loudest of this Plan, if it were compared either with our Engagements to them when we began the War, or with their Performances in the Course of it.

UPON this Occasion Mr. *Harley* was to observe to the Elector, " That it should rather
be

“ be wondered at, how the Queen had brought
“ *France* to offer so much, than yet to offer
“ no more ; because, as soon as ever it appear-
“ ed, that her Majesty would be at the Head
“ of this Treaty, and that the Interests of
“ *Great-Britain* were to be provided for, such
“ Endeavours were used to break off the Ne-
“ gotiation, as are hardly to be paralleled ;
“ and the Disunion thereby created among the
“ Allies, had given more Opportunities to the
“ Enemy, of being slow in their Concessions,
“ than any other Measures might possibly have
“ done : That this Want of Concert among
“ the Allies could not in any Sort be imputed
“ to the Queen, who had all along invited
“ them to it with the greatest Earnestness, as
“ the surest Means to bring *France* to Reason :
“ That she had always in a particular Manner,
“ pressed the States-General to come into the
“ strictest Union with her, and opened to them
“ her Intentions with the greatest Freedom ;
“ but finding, that, instead of concurring with
“ her Majesty, they were daily carrying on In-
“ trigues to break off the Negotiations, and
“ thereby deprive her of the Advantages she
“ might justly expect from the ensuing Peace,
“ having no other Way left, she was forced to
“ act with *France* as she did, by herself : That,
“ however, the Queen had not taken upon
“ herself

“ herself to determine the Interests of the
 “ Allies, who were at Liberty of insisting on
 “ farther Pretensions, wherein her Majesty
 “ would not be wanting to support them as far
 “ as she was able, and improve the Concessi-
 “ ons already made by *France*; in which Case,
 “ a good Understanding and Harmony among
 “ the Confederates would yet be of the greatest
 “ Use for making the Enemy more tractable
 “ and easy.”

I HAVE been more particular in reciting the Substance of Mr. *Harley*'s Instructions, because it will serve as a Recapitulation of what I have already said upon this Subject, and seemeth to set her Majesty's Intentions, and Proceedings at this Time in the clearest Light.

AFTER the Cessation of Arms declared by the Duke of *Ormond*, upon the Delivery of *Dunkirk*, the *British* Plenipotentiaries very earnestly pressed those of *Holland* to come into a general Armistice; for if the whole Confederacy acted in Conjunction, this would certainly be the best Means for bringing the common Enemy to reasonable Terms of Peace: But the States, deluded by the boundless Promises of Count *Zinzendorf*, and the undertaking Talent of Prince *Eugene*, who dreaded the
 Con-

Conclusion of the War, as the Period of his Glory, would not hear of a Cessation. The Loss of eighteen Thousand *Britons* was not a Diminution of Weight in the Balance of such an Ally as the Emperor, and such a General as the Prince. Besides, they looked upon themselves to be still superior to *France* in the Field; and although their Computation was certainly right in Point of Number, yet, in my Opinion, the Conclusion drawn from it was grounded upon a great Mistake. I have been assured by several Persons of our own Country, and some Foreigners of the first Rank, both for Skill and Station in Arms, that in most Victories, obtained in the present War, the *British* Troops were ever employed in the Post of Danger and Honour, and usually began the Attack (being allowed to be naturally more fearless than the People of any other Country), by which they were not only an Example of Courage to the rest, but must be acknowledged, without Partiality, to have governed the Fortune of the Day; since it is known enough, how small a Part of an Army is generally engaged in any Battle. It may likewise be added, that nothing is of greater Moment in War than Opinion. The *French* by their frequent Losses, which they chiefly attributed to the Courage of our Men, believed
that

that a *British* General, at the Head of *British* Troops, was not to be overcome; and the *Marechal de Villars* was quickly sensible of the Advantage he had got; for, in a very few Days after the Desertion of the Allies, happened the Earl of *Albemarle's* Disgrace at *Denain*, by a Feint of the *Marechal's*, and a manifest Failure, somewhere or other, both of Courage and Conduct on the Side of the Confederates. The Blame of which was equally shared between Prince *Eugene* and the Earl; although it is certain, the Duke of *Ormond* gave the latter timely Warning of his Danger, observing he was neither intrenched as he ought, nor provided with Bridges sufficient for the Situation he was in, and at such a Distance from the main Army.

THE Marquis de *Torcy* had likewise the same Sentiments, of what mighty Consequence those few *British* Batalions were to the confederate Army; since he advised his Master to deliver up *Dunkirk*, although the Queen could not perform the Condition understood, which was a Cessation of Arms of all the foreign Forces in her Pay.

It must be owned, that Mons. de *Torcy* made great Merit of this Confidence that his

Master placed in the Queen; and, observing her Majesty's Displeasure against the *Dutch*, on Account of their late Proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with Aggravations enough; insinuating, that, since the States had acted so ungratefully, the Queen should let her Forces join with those of *France*, in order to compel the Confederates to a Peace. But although this Overture were very tenderly hinted from the *French* Court, her Majesty heard it with the utmost Abhorrence; and ordered her Secretary, Mr. St. *John* (created about this Time Viscount *Bolingbroke*), to tell Mons. *de Torcy*, "That no Provocations whatever
" should tempt her to distress her Allies; but
" she would endeavour to bring them to Reason by fair Means, or leave them to their
" own Conduct: That, if the former should
" be found impracticable, she would then
" make her own Peace, and content herself
" with doing the Office of a Mediator between
" both Parties: But, if the States should at any
" Time come to a better Mind, and suffer
" their Ministers to act in Conjunction with
" her's, she would assert their just Interests to
" the utmost, and make no farther Progress
" in any Treaty with *France*, until those Allies received all reasonable Satisfaction, both
" as to their Barrier and their Trade." The
British

British Plenipotentiaries were directed to give the same Assurances to the *Dutch* Ministers at *Utrecht*, and withal to let them know, "That
" the Queen was determined, by their late
" Conduct, to make Peace either with or
" without them; but would much rather
" chuse the former."

THERE was, however, one Advantage which her Majesty resolved to make by this Defection of her Foreigners. She had been led, by the mistaken Politicks of some Years past, to involve herself in several Guaranties with the Princes of the North, which were, in some Sort, contradictory to one another; but this Conduct of their's wholly annulled all such Engagements, and left her at Liberty to interpose in the Affairs of those Parts of *Europe*, in such a Manner as would best serve the Interests of her own Kingdoms, as well as that of the Protestant Religion, and settle a due Balance of Power in the North.

THE grand Article for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain* was to be executed during a Cessation of Arms. But many Difficulties arising about that, and some other Points of great Importance to the common Cause, which could not easily be adjusted either be-

tween the *French* and *British* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, or by Correspondence between *Monf. de Torcy* and the Ministry here; the Queen took the Resolution of sending the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* immediately to *France*, fully instructed in all her Intentions, and authorised to negotiate every Thing necessary for settling the Treaty of Peace in such a Course, as might bring it to a happy and speedy Conclusion. He was impowered to agree to a general Suspension of Arms, by Sea and Land, between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, to continue for four Months, or until the Conclusion of the Peace; provided *France* and *Spain* would previously give positive Assurances to make good the Terms demanded by her Majesty for the Duke of *Savoy*, and would likewise adjust and determine the Forms of the several Renunciations to be made by both those Crowns, in order to prevent their being ever united. The Lord *Bolingbroke* was likewise authorised to settle some Differences relating to the Elector of *Bavaria*, for whose Interests *France* was so much concerned as her Majesty was for these of the Duke of *Savoy*; to explain all doubtful Articles which particularly related to the Advantages of *Great-Britain*; to know the real Ultimatum, as it is termed, of *France* upon the general Plan of Peace; and
lastly,

lastly, to cut off all Hopes from that Court of ever bringing the Queen to force her Allies to a disadvantageous Peace; her Majesty resolving to impose no Scheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the Liberty of endeavouring to obtain the best Conditions they could.

THE Lord *Bolingbroke* went to *France* in the Beginning of *August*, was received at Court with particular Marks of Distinction and Respect; and in a very few Days, by his usual Address and Ability, performed every Part of his Commission, extremely to the Queen's Content and his own Honour. He returned to *England* before the End of the Month; but Mr. *Prior*, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjust whatever Differences might remain or arise between the two Crowns.

IN the mean Time the general Conferences at *Utrecht*, which for several Weeks had been let fall, since the Delivery of *Dunkirk*, were now resumed. But the *Dutch* still declaring against a Suspension of Arms, and refusing to accept the Queen's Speech as a Plan to negotiate upon, there was no Progress made for some Time in the great Work of the Peace. Whereupon the *British* Plenipotentiaries told those of the States, " That if the Queen's
" Endeas-

“ Endeavours could not procure more than
 “ the Contents of her Speech, or if the *French*
 “ should ever fall short of what was there of-
 “ fered, the *Dutch* could blame none but
 “ themselves, who, by their Conduct, had
 “ rendered Things difficult, that would other-
 “ wise have been easy.” However, her Ma-
 jesty thought it prudent to keep the States still
 in Hopes of her good Offices, to prevent them
 from taking the desperate Course of leaving
 themselves wholly at the Mercy of *France*;
 which was an Expedient they formerly prac-
 tised, and which a Party among them was now
 inclined to advise.

WHILST the Congress at *Utrecht* remained
 in this inactive State, the Queen proceeded
 to perfect that important Article for preventing
 the Union of *France* and *Spain*. It was pro-
 posed and accepted, that *Philip* should re-
 nounce *France*, for himself and his Posterity;
 and that the most Christian King, and all the
 Princes of his Blood, should, in the like Man-
 ner, renounce *Spain*. It must be confessed,
 that this Project of Renunciation lay under a
 great Disrepute, by the former Practices of
 this very King *Lewis XIV.* pursuant to an ab-
 surd Notion among many in that Kingdom of
 a Divine

a Divine Right, annexed to Proximity of Blood, not to be controlled by any human Law.

BUT it is plain, the *French* themselves had Recourse to this Method, after all their Infractions of it, since the *Pyrenean* Treaty; for the first Dauphin, in whom the original Claim was vested, renounced for himself and his eldest Son, which opened the Way to *Philip* Duke of *Anjou*; who would however hardly have succeeded, if it had not been for the Will made in his Favour by the last King of *Spain*, *Charles II.*

It is indeed hard to reflect, with any Patience, upon the unaccountable Stupidity of the Princes of *Europe* for some Centuries past, who left a Probability to *France* of succeeding in a few Ages to all their Dominions; whilst, at the same Time, no Alliance with that Kingdom could be of Advantage to any Prince, by Reason of the Salique Law. Should not common Prudence have taught every Sovereign in *Christendom* to enact a Salique Law, with Respect to *France*; for want of which it is almost a Miracle, that the *Bourbon* Family hath not possessed the universal Monarchy by Right of Inheritance? When the *French* assert a Proximity of Blood giveth a divine Right, as some of their Ministers,

Ministers, who ought to be more Wise or Honest, have lately advanced in this very Case, to the Title of *Spain*; do they not, by allowing a *French* Succession, make their own Kings Usurpers? Or, if the Salique Law be divine, is it not of universal Obligation, and consequently of Force, to exclude *France* from inheriting by Daughters? Or, lastly, if that Law be of human Institution, may it not be enacted in any State, with whatever Extent or Limitation the Legislature shall think fit? For the Notion of an unchangeable human Law is an Absurdity in Government, to be believed only by Ignorance; and supported by Power. From hence it followeth, that the Children of the late Queen of *France*, although she had renounced, were as legally excluded from succeeding to *Spain*, as if the Salique Law had been fundamental in that Kingdom; since that Exclusion was established by every Power in *Spain*, which could possibly give a Sanction to to any Law there; and therefore the Duke of *Anjou's* Title is wholly founded upon the Bequest of his Predecessor (which hath great Authority in that Monarchy, as it formerly had in our's), upon the Confirmation of the Cortes, and the general Consent of the People.

It

It is certain, the Faith of Princes is so frequently subservient to their Ambition, that Renunciations have little Validity, otherwise than from the Powers and Parties whose Interest it is to support them. But this Renunciation, which the Queen hath exacted from the *French* King and his Grandson, I take it to be armed with all the essential Circumstances that can fortify such an Act. For as it is necessary, for the Security of every Prince in *Europe*, that those two great Kingdoms should never be united; so the Chief among them will readily consent to be Guarantees for preventing such a Misfortune. Besides, this Proposal (according to Her Majesty's Expression in her Speech) is of such a Nature, that it executeth itself; because the *Spaniards*, who dread such an Union, for every Reason, that can have weight among Men, took Care that their King should not only renounce, in the most solemn Manner; but likewise, that the Act should be framed in the strongest Terms themselves could invent, or we could furnish them with. As to *France*, upon Supposal of the young Dauphin's dying in a few Years, that Kingdom will not be in a Condition to engage in a long War against a powerful Alliance, fortified with the Addition of the *Spaniards*, and the Party
of

of the Duke of *Berry*, or whoever else shall be next Claimer: And the longer the present Dauphin liveth, the weaker must *Philip's* Interest be in *France*; because the Princes, who are to succeed by this Renunciation, will have most Power and Credit in the Kingdom.

THE Mischiefs occasioned by the Want of a good Understanding between the Allies, especially *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, were raised every Day; the *French* taking the Advantage, and raising Difficulties, not only upon the general Plan of Peace, but likewise upon the Explanation of several Articles in the projected Treaty between them and Her Majesty: They insisted to have *Lisle*, as the Equivalent for *Dunkirk*; and demanded *Tournay*, *Maubeuge*, and *Condé*, for the two or three Towns mentioned in the Queen's Speech; which the *British* Plenipotentiaries were so far from allowing, that they refused to confer with those of *France* upon that Foot; although, at the same Time, the former had fresh Apprehensions, that the *Dutch*, in a Fit of Despair, would accept whatever Terms the Enemy pleased to offer, and, by precipitating their own Peace, prevent Her Majesty from obtaining any Advantages both for Her Allies and Herself.

It is most certain, that the repeated Losses suffered by the States, in little more than two Months after they had withdrawn themselves from the Queen's Assistance, did wholly disconcert their Councils; and their Prudence (as it is usual) began to forsake them with their Good-fortune. They were so weak as to be still deluded by their Friends in *England*, who continued to give them Hopes of some mighty and immediate Resource from hence; for when the Duke of *Ormond* had been about a Month in *Ghent*, he received a Letter from the Marechal *de Villars*, to inform him that the *Dutch* Generals, taken at *Denain*, had told the Marechal publicly of a sudden Revolution expected in *Great-Britain*; that particularly the Earl of *Albemarle* and Monsieur *Hompesch* discoursed very freely of it, and that nothing was more commonly talked of in *Holland*. It was then likewise confidently reported in *Ghent*, that the Queen was dead; and we all remember what Rumour flew about here at the very same Time, as if Her Majesty's Health were in a bad Condition. Whether such vain Hopes as these gave Spirit to the *Dutch*; whether their frequent Misfortunes made them angry and sullen; whether they still expected to over-reach us by some private

Stipu-

Stipulations with *France*, through the Mediation of the Elector of *Bavaria*, as that Prince afterwards gave out ; or whatever else was the Cause, they utterly refused a Cessation of Arms ; and made not the least Return to all the Advances and Invitations made by Her Majesty, until the Close of the Campaign.

IT was then the States first began to view their Affairs in another Light ; to consider how little the vast Promises of Count *Zinzen-dorf* were to be relied on ; to be convinced that *France* was not disposed to break with Her Majesty, only to gratify their Ill-humour, or unreasonable Demands ; to discover that their factious Correspondents on this Side the Water had shamefully misled them ; that some of their own principal Towns grew heartily weary of the War, and backward in their Loans ; and, lastly, that Prince *Eugene*, their new General, whether his Genius or Fortune had left him, was not for their Turn. They, therefore, directed their Ministers at *Utrecht* to signify to the Lord Privy-seal and the Earl of *Strafford*, “ That the States were disposed to
“ comply with Her Majesty, and to desire Her
“ good Offices with *France* ; particularly, that
“ *Tournay* and *Condé* might be left to them as
“ Part of their Barrier, without which they
“ could

“ could not be safe : That the Elector of *Ba-*
“ *varia* might not be suffered to retain any
“ Town in the *Netherlands*, which would be
“ as bad for *Holland* as if those Places were in
“ the Hands of *France* : Therefore the States
“ proposed, that *Luxembourg*, *Namur*, *Char-*
“ *leroy*, and *Nieuport*, might be delivered to
“ the Emperor. Lastly, That the *French*
“ might not insist on excepting the four Species
“ of Goods out of the Tariff of One thou-
“ sand six hundred and sixty-four : That if
“ Her Majesty could prevail with *France* to
“ to satisfy their Masters on these Articles,
“ they would be ready to submit in all the
“ rest.”

WHEN the Queen received an Account of
this good Disposition in the States-General,
immediately Orders were sent to Mr, *Prior*,
to inform the Ministers of the *French* Court,
“ That Her Majesty had now some Hopes of
“ the *Dutch* complying with Her Measures ;
“ and therefore She resolved, as She had al-
“ ways declared, whenever those Allies came
“ to themselves, not to make the Peace with-
“ out their reasonable Satisfaction.” The
Difficulty that most pressed was about the
Disposal of *Tournay* and *Condé*. The *Dutch*
insisted strongly to have both, and the *French*
were

were extremely unwilling to part with either. The Queen judged the former would suffice, for compleating the Barrier of the States. Mr. *Prior* was therefore directed to press the Marquis *de Torcy* effectually on this Head, and to terminate all that Minister's Objections, by assuring him of Her Majesty's Resolutions to appear openly on the Side of the *Dutch*, if this Demand were refused. It was thought convenient to act in this resolute Manner with *France*, whose late Success, against *Holland*, had taught the Ministers of the most Christian King to resume their old imperious Manner of treating with that Republick; to which they were farther encouraged by the ill Understanding between Her Majesty and the Allies.

THIS appeared from the Result of an idle Quarrel that happened, about the End of *August*, at *Utrecht*, between a *French* and *Dutch* Plenipotentiary, Monsieur *Mesnager* and Count *Rechteren*; wherein the Court of *France* demanded such abject Submissions, and with so much Haughtiness, as plainly shewed they were pleased with any Occasion of mortifying the *Dutch*. Besides, the Politicks of the *French* ran at this Time very opposite to those of *Great-Britain*: They thought the Ministers
here

here durst not meet the Parliament without a Peace; and that, therefore, Her Majesty would either force the States to comply with *France*, by delivering up *Tournay*, which was the principal Point in dispute, or would finish Her own Peace with *France* and *Spain*, leaving a fixed Time for *Holland* to refuse or accept the Terms imposed on them. But the Queen, who thought the Demand of *Tournay* by the States to be very necessary and just, was determined to insist upon it, and to declare openly against *France*, rather than suffer Her Allies to want a Place so useful for their Barrier. And Mr. *Prior* was ordered to signify this Resolution of Her Majesty to Monsieur *de Torcy*, in Case that Minister could not be otherwise prevailed on. The *British* Plenipotentiaries did likewise, at the same Time, express to those of *Holland* Her Majesty's great Satisfaction, that the States were at last disposed to act in Confidence with her: "That she wished this Resolution had been sooner taken, since nobody had gained by the Delay, but the *French* King; that, however, Her Majesty did not question the procuring a safe and honourable Peace, by united Councils, reasonable Demands, and prudent Measures; that she would assist them in getting whatever was necessary to their Barrier, and in settling, to their Satisfaction, the Ex-
ceptions

ceptions made by *France* out of the Tariff of One thousand six Hundred and sixty-four ; that no other Difficulties remained of Moment to retard the Peace, since the Queen had obtained *Sicily* for the Duke of *Savoy* ; and, in the Settlement of the *Low-Countries*, would adhere to what she delivered from the Throne : That as to the Empire, Her Majesty heartily wished their Barrier as good as could be desired ; but that we were not now in Circumstances to expect every Thing exactly according to the Scheme of *Holland* : *France* had already offered a great Part, and the Queen did not think the Remainder worth the Continuance of the War."

HER Majesty conceived the Peace in so much Forwardness, that She thought fit, about this Time, to nominate the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Lord *Lexington* for Ambassadors in *France* and *Spain*, to receive the Renunciations in both Courts, and adjust Matters of Commerce.

THE Duke was preparing for his Journey, when he was challenged to a Duel by the Lord *Mobun*, a Person of infamous Character. He killed his Adversary upon the Spot, although he himself received a Wound ; and, weakened by the Loss of Blood, as he was leaning in the Arms

Arms of his Second, was most barbarously stabbed in the Breast by Lieutenant-General *Macartney*, who was Second to Lord *Mobun*. He died a few Minutes after in the Field, and the Murderer made his Escape. I thought so surprizing an Event might deserve barely to be related, although it be something foreign to my Subject.

THE Earl of *Strafford*, who had come to *England* in last *May* 15, in Order to give Her Majesty an Account of the Disposition of Affairs in *Holland*, was now returning with Her last Instructions, to let the *Dutch* Minister know, “ That some Points would probably
“ meet with Difficulties not to be overcome,
“ which once might have been easily obtained :
“ To shew what evil Consequences had already
“ flowed from their Delay and Irresolution,
“ and to intreat them to fix on some Proposition,
“ reasonable in itself, as well as possible
“ to be effected: That the Queen would insist
“ upon the Cession of *Tournay* by *France*,
“ provided the States would concur in finishing
“ the Peace, without starting new Objections,
“ or insisting upon farther Points : That the
“ *French* Demands, in Favour of the Elector
“ of *Bavaria*, appeared to be such as, the
“ Queen was of Opinion, the States ought to
VOL. IX. U agree

“ agree to; which were, to leave the Elector
“ in Possession of *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, and
“ *Charleroy*, subject to the Terms of their Bar-
“ rier, until he should be restored to his Elec-
“ torate; and to give him the Kingdom of
“ *Sardinia*, to efface the Stain of his Degrada-
“ tion in the Electoral College: That the Earl
“ had brought over a Project of a new Treaty
“ of Succession and Barrier, which Her Majesty
“ insisted the States should sign, before the
“ Conclusion of the Peace; the former Treaty
“ having been disadvantageous to Her Subjects,
“ containing in it the Seeds of future Dis-
“ tions, and condemned by the Sense of the
“ Nation. Lastly, That Her Majesty, not-
“ withstanding all Provocations, had, for the
“ Sake of the *Dutch*, and in Hopes of their
“ Recovery from those false Notions which
“ had so long misled them, hitherto kept the
“ Negotiations open: That the Offers now
“ made them were Her last, and this the last
“ Time She would apply to them: That they
“ must either agree, or expect the Queen
“ would proceed immediately to conclude her
“ Treaty with *France* and *Spain*, in Con-
“ junction with such of her Allies as would think
“ fit to adhere to her.

“ As

“ As to *Savoy*, that the Queen expected
“ the States would concur with Her in making
“ good the Advantages stipulated for that Duke,
“ and in prevailing with the Emperor to con-
“ sent to an absolute Neutrality in *Italy*, until
“ the Peace should be concluded.”

THE governing Party in *Holland*, however in Appearance disposed to finish, affected new Delays, and raised many Difficulties about the four Species of Goods, which the *French* had excepted out of the Tariff. Count *Zinzendorf*, the Emperor's Plenipotentiary, did all that was possible to keep up this Humour in the *Dutch*, in Hopes to put them under a Necessity of preparing for the next Campaign; and sometime after went so far in this Pursuit, that he summoned the several Ministers of the Empire, told them he had Letters from his Master, with Orders to signify to them, “ That his Imperial
“ Majesty resolved to begin the Campaign ear-
“ ly, with all his Forces united against *France*;
“ of which he desired they would send Notice
“ to all their Courts, that the several Princes
“ might be ready to furnish their Contingents
“ and Recruits.” At the same Time, *Zinzen-
dorf* endeavoured to borrow two Millions of
Florins upon the Security of some Imperial

Cities; but could not succeed either amongst the Jews or at *Amsterdam*.

WHEN the Earl of *Strafford* arrived at *Utrecht*, the Lord Privy-seal and he communicated to the *Dutch* Ministers the new Treaty for a Succession and Barrier, as the Queen had ordered it to be prepared here in *England*, differing from the former in several Points of the greatest Moment, obvious to any who will be at the Pains to compare them. This was strenuously opposed for several Weeks by the Plenipotentiaries of the States; but the Province of *Utrecht*, where the Congress was held, immediately sent Orders to their Representatives at the *Hague*, to declare their Province thankful to the Queen; that they agreed the Peace should be made on the Terms proposed by *France*, and consented to the new projected Treaty of Barrier and Succession: And about the Close of the Year, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twelve, four of the seven Provinces had delivered their Opinions for putting an End to the War.

THIS unusual Precipitation in the States, so different from the whole Tenour of their former Conduct, was very much suspected by the *British* Plenipotentiaries. Their Lordships had received Intelligence, that the *Dutch* Ministers held

held frequent Conferences with those of *France*, and had offered to settle their Interests with that Crown, without the Concurrence of *Britain*. Count *Zinzendorf*, and his Colleagues, appeared likewise, all on the sudden, to have the same Dispositions, and to be in great Haste to settle their several Differences with the States. The Reasons for this Proceeding were visible enough; many Difficulties were yet undetermined in the Treaty of Commerce between her Majesty and *France*, for the adjusting of which, and some other Points, the Queen had lately dispatched the Duke of *Shrewsbury* to that Court. Some of these were of hard Digestion, with which the most Christian King would not be under a Necessity of complying, when he had no farther Occasion for us, and might, upon that Account, afford better Terms to the other two Powers. Besides, the Emperor and the States could very well spare Her Majesty the Honour of being Arbitrator of a general Peace; and the latter hoped, by this Means, to avoid the new Treaty of Barrier and Succession, which we were now forcing on them.

To prevent the Consequences of this Evil, there fortunately fell out an Incident, which the two Lords at *Utrecht* knew well to make use of: The Quarrel between Mons. *Mefnager* and

and Count *Richteren* (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The *French* and *Dutch* differing, in some Circumstances, about the Satisfaction to be given by the Count for the Affront he had offered, the *British* Plenipotentiaries kept this Dispute on Foot for several Days; and, in the mean Time, pressed the *Dutch* to finish the new Treaty of Barrier and Succession between her Majesty and them, which, about the Middle of *January*, was concluded fully to the Queen's Satisfaction.

BUT while these Debates and Differences continued at the Congress, the Queen resolved to put a speedy End to her Part in the War; she therefore sent Orders to the Lord Privy-seal and the Earl of *Strafford*, to prepare every Thing necessary for signing her own Treaty with *France*. This she hoped might be done against the Meeting of her Parliament, now prorogued to the third of *February*; in which Time those among the Allies, who were really inclined towards a Peace, might settle their several Interests by the Assistance and Support of her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries; and as for the rest, who would either refuse to comply, or endeavour to protract the Negotiation, the Heads of their respective Demands, which *France* had yielded by her Majesty's Intervention,

tion, and agreeable to the Plan laid down in her Speech, should be mentioned in the Treaty, and a Time limited for the several Powers concerned to receive or reject them.

THE Pretender was not yet gone out of *France*, upon some Difficulties alledged by the *French*, about procuring him a safe Conduct to *Bar-le-duc*, in the Duke of *Lorrain's* Dominions, where it was then proposed he should reside. The Queen, altogether bent upon quieting the Minds of her Subjects, declared, she would not sign the Peace until that Person were removed; and although several wise Men believed he could be no where less dangerous to *Great-Britain* than in the Place where he was.

THE Argument which most prevailed on the States to sign the new Treaty of Barrier and Succession with *Great-Britain*, was her Majesty's Promise to procure *Tournay* for them from *France*, after which, no more Differences remained between us and that Republick, and consequently they had no farther Temptations to any separate Transactions with the *French*, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty Manner of treating with the *Dutch*. The Satisfaction they extorted for
the

the Affront given by Count *Richteren* to Monf. *Mefnager*, although somewhat softened by the *British* Ministers at *Utrecht*, was yet fo rigorous, that her Majesty could not forbear fignifying her Refentment of it to the moft Chriftian King. Monf. *Mefnager*, who feemed to have more the Genius of a Merchant than a Minister, began, in his Conferences with the Plenipotentiaries of the States, to raife new Difputes upon Points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly fettled. The *Abbé de Polignac*, a moft accomplifh'd Perfon, of great Generofity and univerfal Underftanding, was gone to *France* to receive the Cardinal's Cap; and the Marechal *de Huxelles* was wholly guided by his Colleague, Monf. *Mefnager*, who kept up thofe Brangles that for a Time obftructed the Peace; fome of which were againft all Juftice, and others of fmall Importance, both of very little Advantage to his Country, and lefs to the Reputation of his Mafter or himfelf. This low Talent in Buſineſs, which the Cardinal *de Polignac* uſed, in Contempt, to call a *Spirit of Negotiating*, made it impoſſible for the two Lords Plenipotentiaries, with all their Abilities and Experience, to bring *Mefnager* to Reaſon, in ſeveral Points both with us and the States: His Conceſſions were few and conſtrained, ſerving only to render

der him more tenacious of what he refused. In several of the Towns, which the States were to keep, he insisted that *France* should retain the Chatellanies, or extent of Country depending on them, particularly that of *Tournay*; a Demand the more unjustifiable, because he knew his Master had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a Court in his Kingdom, where his own Judges extended the Territories about those Towns he had taken, as far as he pleased to direct them. *Monf. Mesnager* shewed equal Obstinacy in what his Master expected for the Elector of *Bavaria*, and in refusing the Tariff of One Thousand six Hundred and Sixty-four: So that the Queen's Plenipotentiaries represented these Difficulties as what might be of dangerous Consequence, both to the Peace in general, and to the States in particular, if they were not speedily prevented.

UPON these Considerations her Majesty thought it her shortest and safest Course to apply directly to *France*, where she had then so able a Minister as the Duke of *Sbrowsbury*.

THE Marquis *de Torcy*, Secretary to the most Christian King, was the Minister with whom the Duke was to treat, as having been the

the first who moved his Master to apply to the Queen for a Peace, in Opposition to a violent Faction in that Kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the War, as any other could be either here or in *Holland*.

It would be very unlike a Historian, to refuse this great Minister the Praise, he so justly deserveth, of having treated, through the whole Course of so great a Negotiation, with the utmost Candour and Integrity; never once failing in any Promise he made, and tempering a firm Zeal to his Master's Interest with a ready Compliance to what was reasonable and just. Mr. *Prior*, whom I have formerly mentioned, resided likewise now at *Paris*, with the Character of Minister-plenipotentiary, and was very acceptable to that Court, upon the score of his Wit and Humour.

THE Duke of *Shrewsbury* was directed to press the *French* Court upon the Points yet unsettled in the Treaty of Commerce between both Crowns; to make them drop their unreasonable Demands for the Elector of *Bavaria*; to let them know, that the Queen was resolved not to forsake her Allies, who were now ready to come in; that she thought the best Way of hastening the general Peace was to

to determine her own particular One with *France*, until which Time she could not conveniently suffer her Parliament to meet.

THE States were, by this Time, so fully convinced of the Queen's Sincerity and Affection to their Republick, and how much they had been deceived by the Insinuations of the factious Party in *England*, that they wrote a very humble Letter to her Majesty, to desire her Assistance towards settling those Points they had in Dispute with *France*, and professing themselves ready to acquiesce in whatever Explanation her Majesty would please to make of the Plan proposed in her Speech to the Parliament.

BUT the Queen had already prevented their Desires; and in the Beginning of *February*, One Thousand seven Hundred and twelve-thirteen, directed the Duke of *Shrewsbury* to inform the *French* Court " That since she had
 " prevailed on her Allies, the *Dutch*, to drop
 " the Demand of *Condé*, and the other of the
 " four Species of Goods, which the *French*
 " had excepted out of the Tariff of One
 " Thousand six Hundred and Sixty-four, she
 " would not sign without them: That she ap-
 " proved of the *Dutch* insisting to have the
 Chatellanies

“ Chatellanies restored with the Towns, and
 “ was resolved to stand or fall with them, un-
 “ til they were satisfied in this Point.”

HER Majesty had some Apprehensions, that the *French* created these Difficulties on Purpose to spin out the Treaty, until the Campaign should begin. They thought it absolutely necessary, that our Parliament should meet in a few Weeks, which could not well be ventured, until the Queen were able to tell both Houses, that her own Peace was signed: That this would not only facilitate what remained in Difference between *Great-Britain* and *France*, but leave the *Dutch* entirely at the Mercy of the latter.

THE Queen, weary of these refined Mistakes in the *French* Politicks, and fully resolved to be trifled with no longer, sent her determinate Orders to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, to let *France* know, “ That Her Majesty had hitherto
 “ to prorogued her Parliament, in Hopes of
 “ accommodating the Difficulties in her own
 “ Treaties of Peace and Commerce with that
 “ Crown, as well as settling the Interests of her
 “ several Allies; or, at least, that, the Differences in the former being removed, the most
 “ Christian King would have made such Offers
 “ for the latter, as might justify Her Majesty
 “ in

“ in signing Her own Peace, whether the
“ Confederates intended to sign theirs or no.
“ But several Points being yet unfinished be-
“ tween both Crowns, and others between
“ *France* and the rest of the Allies, especially
“ the States, to which the Plenipotentiaries of
“ that Court at *Utrecht* had not thought fit to
“ give Satisfaction; the Queen was now come
“ to a final Determination, both with Relation
“ to her own Kingdoms, and to the whole Al-
“ liance; That, the Campaign approaching,
“ she would not willingly be surpris'd in Case
“ the War was to go on: That she had trans-
“ mitted to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* her last
“ Resolutions, and never would be prevailed
“ on to reduce her own Demands, or those of
“ her Allies, any lower than the Scheme now
“ sent over, as an Explanation of the Plan laid
“ down in her Speech: That Her Majesty had
“ sent Orders to her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*
“ to assume the Character of Ambassadors, and
“ sign the Peace immediately with the Mini-
“ sters of the most Christian King, as soon as
“ the Duke of *Shrewsbury* should have sent
“ them Notice that the *French* had complied:
“ That the Queen had therefore farther pro-
“ rogued her Parliament to the third of *March*,
“ in Hopes to assure them, by that Time, of
“ her Peace being agreed on; for, if the two
“ Houses

“ Houses should meet, while any Uncertainty
 “ remained, Supplies must be asked as for a
 “ War.”

THE Duke of *Shrewsbury* executed this important Commission with that Speed and Success, which could only be expected from an able Minister. The *French* King immediately yielded to the whole Scheme Her Majesty proposed; whereupon Directions were sent to the Lord Privy-seal and the Earl of *Strafford*, to sign a Peace between *Great-Britain* and *France*, without Delay.

UPON the 2d Day of *March*, the two *British* Plenipotentiaries met those of the Allies in the Town-house at *Utrecht*; where the Lord Privy-seal addressed himself to them in a short Speech,
 “ That the Negociation had now continued
 “ fourteen Months with great Slowness, which
 “ had proved very injurious to the Interests of
 “ the Allies: That the Queen had staid thus
 “ long, and stopped the finishing her own
 “ Peace, rather than leave her Allies in any
 “ Uncertainty: That she hoped they would
 “ now be all prepared to put an End to this
 “ great Work; and therefore had commanded
 “ her Plenipotentiaries to tell those of the Al-
 “ lies, That she found it necessary to conclude
 “ her

“ her own Treaty immediately; and it was
“ her Opinion, that the Confederates ought to
“ finish theirs at the same Time, to which they
“ were now accordingly invited by Her Ma-
“ jesty’s Orders.” And, lastly, his Lordship de-
clared, in the Queen’s Name, “ That whoever
“ could not be ready, on the Day prefixed,
“ should have a convenient Time allowed
“ them to come in.”

ALTHOUGH the Orders sent by the Queen to her Plenipotentiaries were very precise, yet their Lordships did not precipitate the Performance of them. They were directed to appoint as short a Day for the signing as they conveniently could; but, however, the particular Day was left to their Discretion. They hoped to bring over the *Dutch*, and most of the other Allies, to conclude at the same Time with the Queen; which, as it would certainly be more popular to their Country, so they conceived it would be more safe for themselves: Besides, upon looking over their Commission, a Scruple sprang in their Minds, that they could not sign a particular Peace with *France*; their Powers, as they apprehended, authorising them only to sign a general one. Their Lordships therefore sent to *England* to desire new Powers, and, in the mean Time, employed themselves with
great

great Industry, between the Ministers of *France* and those of the several Allies, to find some Expedient for smoothing the Way to an Agreement among them.

THE Earl of *Strafford* went for a few Days to the *Hague*, to inform the States of Her Majesty's express Commands to his Colleague and himself, for signing the Peace as soon as possible; and to desire they would be ready at the same Time, which the Pensionary promised; and that their Plenipotentiaries should be empowered accordingly, to the great Contentment of Monf. *Buys*, who was now so much altered, either in Reality, or Appearance, that he complained to the Earl of Monf. *Heinsius*'s Slowness; and charged all the Delays and Mismanagements of a Twelve-month past to that Minister's Account.

WHILE the Earl of *Strafford* staid at the *Hague*, he discovered that an Emissary of the Duke of *Marlborough* had been there some Days before, sent by his Grace to dissuade the *Dutch* from signing at the same Time with the Ministers of the Queen, which, in *England*, would at least have the Appearance of a separate Peace, and oblige their *British* Friends, who knew how to turn so short a Delay to very
good

good Account, as well as gratify the Emperor; on whom, it was alledged, they ought to rely much more than on Her Majesty. One of the States likewise told the Earl, " That the
" same Person, employed by the Duke, was
" then in Conference with the Magistrates of
" *Rotterdam* (which Town had declared for the
" Continuance of the War), to assure them, if
" they would hold off a little, they should see
" an unexpected Turn in the *British* Parlia-
" ment: That the Duke of *Marlborough* had
" a List of the discontented Members in both
" Houses, who were ready to turn against the
" Court; and, to crown all, that his Grace
" had certain Intelligence of the Queen being
" in so ill a State of Health, as made it impos-
" sible for her to live above six Weeks." So
restless and indefatigable is Avarice and Ambi-
tion, when inflamed by a Desire of Revenge.

BUT Representations, which had been so often tried, were now offered too late. Most of the Allies, except the Emperor, were willing to put an End to the War upon Her Majesty's Plan; and the further Delay of three Weeks, must be chiefly imputed to that litigious Manner of treating, peculiar to the *French*; whose Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, insisted with

Obstinacy upon many Points, which at *Paris* *Monf. de Torcy* had given up.

THE Emperor expected to keep all he already possessed in *Italy*; that *Portlongue*, on the *Tuscan* Coast, should be delivered to him by *France*; and, lastly, that he should not be obliged to renounce *Spain*. But the Queen, as well as *France*, thought that his Imperial Majesty ought to sit down contented with his Partage of *Naples* and *Milan*; and to restore those Territories in *Italy*, which he had taken from the rightful Proprietors, and by the Possession of which he was grown dangerous to the *Italian* Princes, by reviving antiquated Claims upon them.

THIS Prince had likewise objected to Her Majesty's Expedient of suffering the Elector of *Bavaria* to retain *Luxembourg*, under certain Conditions, by way of Security, until his Electorate were restored. But the Queen, supposing that these affected Delays were intended only with a View of continuing the War, resolved to defer the Peace no longer on the Emperor's Account.

IN the Middle of *March*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twelve-Thirteen, a Courier

rier arrived at *Utrecht* from *France*, with the Plan of a general Peace, as it had been agreed between the Duke of *Shrewsbury* and *Monf. de Torcy*; wherein every Particular, relating to the Interests and Pretensions of the several Allies, was brought so near to what each of them would accept, that the *British* Plenipotentiaries hoped the Peace would be general in ten or twelve Days. The *Portuguese* and *Dutch* were already prepared, and others were daily coming in, by Means of their Lordship's good Offices, who found *Monf. Mefnager* and his Colleague very stubborn to the last. Another Courier was dispatched to *France*, upon some Disputes about inserting the Titles of Her Majesty and the most Christian King, and to bring a general Plan for the Interests of these Allies, who should not be ready against the Time prefixed. The *French* Renunciations were now arrived at *Utrecht*, and it was agreed that those, as well as that of the King of *Spain*, should be inserted at length in every Treaty, by which Means the whole Confederacy would become Guaranties of them.

THE Courier, last sent to *France*, returned to *Utrecht* on the Twenty-seventh of *March*, with the Concessions of that Court upon every necessary Point; so that, all Things being ready

dy for putting a Period to this great and difficult Work, the Lord Privy-Seal and the Earl of *Strafford* gave Notice to the Ministers of the several Allies, “ That their Lordships had appointed *Tuesday* the Thirty-first Instant, “ wherein to sign a Treaty of Peace, and a “ Treaty of Commerce, between the Queen “ of *Great-Britain*, their Mistress, and the “ most Christian King; and hoped the said Allies would be prepared at the same Time, to “ follow their Example.” Accordingly their Lordships employed the three intervening Days, in smoothing the few Difficulties that remained between the *French* Ministers and those of the several confederate Powers,

THE important Day being now come, the Lord Bishop of *Bristol* and the Earl of *Strafford*, having assumed the Character of Ambassadors Extraordinary, gave a Memorial in Behalf of the *French* Protestants to the Marechal *de Huxelles* and his Colleague, who were to transmit it to their Court; and these delivered to the *British* Ambassadors a Declaration in Writing, that the Pretender was actually gone out of *France*.

THE Conditions of Peace to be allowed the Emperor and the Empire, as adjusted between *Britain* and *France*, were now likewise delivered

ed to the Count *Zinzendorff*. These and some other previous Matters of smaller Consequence being finished, the Treaties of Peace and Commerce between Her Majesty of *Britain* and the most Christian King, were signed at the Lord Privy-Seal's House between two and three of the Clock in the Afternoon. The Ministers of the Duke of *Savoy* signed about an Hour after. Then the Assembly adjourned to the Earl of *Strafford's*, where they all went to Dinner; and about nine at Night the Peace was signed by the Ministers of *Portugal*, by those of *Prussia* at eleven, and when it was near Midnight by the States.

THUS after all the Opposition raised by a strong Party in *France*, and by a virulent Faction in *Great-Britain*; after all the Artifices of those who presided at the *Hague*, and for their private Interest, endeavoured, in Conjunction with their Friends in *England*, to prolong the War; after the restless Endeavours of the Imperial Court to render the Treaty ineffectual; the firm steady Conduct of the Queen, the Wisdom and Courage of her Ministry, and the Abilities of those whom she employed in her Negotiations abroad, prevailed to have a Peace signed in one Day by every Power concerned, except that of the Emperor and the Empire;
for

for his Imperial Majesty liked his Situation too well to think of a Peace, while the Drudgery and Expences of the War lay upon other Shoulders, and the Advantages were to redound only to himself.

DURING this whole Negotiation, the King of *Spain*, who was not acknowledged by any of the Confederates, had consequently no Minister at *Utrecht*; but the Differences between Her Majesty and that Prince were easily settled by the Lord *Lexington* at *Madrid*, and the Marquis of *Monteleon* here: So that upon the Duke *D'Ossuna's* Arrival at the Congress, some Days after the Peace, he was ready to conclude a Treaty between the Queen and his Master. Neither is it probable that the *Dutch*, or any other Ally, except the Emperor, will encounter any Difficulties of Moment, to retard their several Treaties with his Catholick Majesty.

THE Treaties of Peace and Commerce between *Great-Britain* and *France*, were ratified here on the Seventh of *April*; on the Twenty-eighth the Ratifications were exchanged; and on the Fifth of *May* the Peace was proclaimed in the usual Manner; but with louder Acclamations, and more extraordinary Rejoicings of the People, than had ever been remembered on the like Occasion.

F I N I S.

“ which Interest amounted to about Seventy-se-
“ ven Thousand seven Hundred and ninety-three
“ Pounds *per Annum* : And the said Salt Fund
“ produceth but about fifty-five Thousand
“ Pounds *per Annum* ; so that no Money was
“ borrowed upon the general Mortgage in One
“ Thousand seven Hundred and Ten, except
“ one Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds
“ lent by the *Swiss* Cantons ; but Tallies were
“ struck for the whole Sum. These all re-
“ mained in the late Treasurer’s Hands at the
“ Time of his Removal, yet the Money was
“ expended, which occasioned those great De-
“ mands upon the Commissioners of the Trea-
“ sury who succeeded him, and were forced
“ to pawn those Tallies to the Bank, or to
“ Remitters, rather than sell them at Twenty
“ or Twenty-five *per Cent.* Discount, as the
“ Price then was. About two Hundred Thou-
“ sand Pounds of them they paid to Clothiers
“ of the Army, and others ; and all the rest,
“ being above Ninety Thousand Pounds, have
“ been subscribed into the South-sea Company
“ for the Use of the Publick.”

WHEN the Earl of *Godolphin* was removed from his Employment, he left a Debt upon the Navy of several Millions, all contracted under

der his Administration, which had no Parliament-Security, and was daily increased. Neither could I ever learn, whether that Lord had the smallest Prospect of clearing this Incumbrance, or whether there were Policy, Negligence, or Despair at the Bottom of this unaccountable Management. • But the Consequences were visible and ruinous; for by this Means Navy-Bills grew to be Forty *per Cent.* Discount, and upwards; and almost every Kind of Stores, bought by the Navy and Victualling-Offices, cost the Government double Rates, and sometimes more: So that the Publick hath directly lost several Millions upon this one Article, without any Sort of Necessity, that I could ever hear assigned by the ablest Vindicators of that Party.

IN this oppressed and entangled State was the Kingdom with Relation to its Debts, when the Queen removed the Earl of *Godolphin* from his Office, and put it into Commission, of which the present Treasurer was one. This Person had been chosen Speaker successively to three Parliaments, was afterwards Secretary of State, and always in great Esteem with the Queen for his Wisdom and Fidelity. The late Ministry, about two Years before their Fall, had prevailed with her Majesty, much against her Inclination, to dismiss him from Her Service; for which they



THE
CRAFTSMAN.

NUMBER 232.

SATURDAY, *December* 12, 1730.



Printed in the YEAR M DCC LVIII.

VOL. IX.

Y

A Paper relative to Ireland, and on a very interesting Subject, having been published in the Craftsman of December 12, 1730, Doctor SWIFT wrote a Letter to the Author, full of Wit and the finest Turns of Irony. But as the Brightness and Beauty of these, without a Perusal of that political Paper, would be dim and obscure, the Publisher hath, by the Advice of Gentlemen of Taste and Learning, reprinted that Craftsman, and prefixed it to the Dean's Letter.



T H E
CRAFTSMAN.

No. 232. SATURDAY, *Dec. 12, 1730.*

THE following Article, which hath lately appeared in the News-Papers, deserveth our immediate Consideration, *viz.*

“ THEY write from *Dublin*, that an Officer
“ from every Regiment in the *French* Service
“ is arrived there, in order to raise Recruits for
“ their respective Corps; which is not to be
“ done in a clandestine Manner, as formerly,
“ (when several Persons suffered Death for it)
“ but publickly. These Gentlemen are to dis-
“ perse themselves into the several Counties,
“ where they have the best Interest; and a
“ Field Officer is to reside constantly at *Dublin*
“ to hear all Complaints, which may be made
“ by any of the Recruits against their Officers;
“ and also to prepare for sending them off.—
“ Count *Broglie* hath been soliciting an Order,
“ to this Purpose, these two Years.

Y e

W H E N

WHEN I first read this Account in the public Prints, I looked upon it as a common Piece of false Intelligence, and was in full Expectation of seeing it contradicted in the next Day's Papers, according to frequent Custom; but having since heard it confidently affirmed to be true, (although I can hardly yet believe it; especially, as to every Part) the Duty, which I owe my Country, and my Zeal for the present Establishment, oblige me to take some Notice of an Affair, which I apprehend to be of very great Importance to both.

It will be necessary, in the first Place, to give the Reader a short Account of the Nature of these Troops, as they are now established in *France*.

THEY consist, as we have been informed, of one Regiment of Horse, and five Regiments of Foot, all doubly or trebly officered; so that they are, of themselves, a very considerable Body of Men.

BUT their Number is the least Point to be considered in this Affair. There are other Circumstances, which render these Troops infinitely more formidable to *Great-Britain*.
They

They are not only all Roman-Catholicks, but the most dangerous of that Communion, with respect to us. I mean Roman-Catholick Subjects of our own Dominions; many of whom have been obliged to fly their native Country on Account of Rebellions and Conspiracies, in which they have been engaged; and all of them devoted by Inclination, by Interest, by Conscience, by every Motive human and divine, to the Service of the Pretender, in Opposition to the Protestant Succession in his Majesty's Royal Family.

To this we may add, that they are generally esteemed the best Forces in the *French* Service; that they have always behaved themselves as such in the late Wars; and are commanded by Officers of approved Courage, as well as great Skill and Experience in military Affairs.

It is said likewise, that the Serjeants, Corporals, and private Men are so well seasoned to Danger, and expert in their Duty, that, by a gradual Promotion, they could furnish Officers for a very formidable Army, in case of any sudden Invasion or Insurrection.

IN the next Place, it will not be improper to examine this Affair with Regard to our Laws.

IT is made Felony, by Act of Parliament in *Ireland*, for any Subject of that Kingdom to enlist himself, or to enlist others, in the Service of any foreign State ; and it is well known that Multitudes of poor Wretches have suffered Death upon that Account.

WE know it may be said, that a Power is reserved to his Majesty, by a Clause in that Act, to dispense with it, by granting any foreign Prince a Licence to raise Forces in his Dominions, and indemnifying his Subjects from the Penalties of the Law.

ALTHOUGH it is far from my Intention to dispute any of his Majesty's legal Prerogatives, or to call the Wisdom of the Legislature in Question, yet I must take the Liberty to observe, that such Powers have been sometimes granted out of Complaisance to the Crown, that the Prince's Hands may not be absolutely tyed up, and in full Confidence that they will never be exerted but for the Benefit of this Nation, or possibly of some Protestant Ally, upon great Emergencies of State. The Exercise of the
Prerogative,

Prerogative, in these Cases, is therefore merely a prudential Part, which is left to the Discretion of the Prince and his Ministers, who ought always to be supposed the best Judges of these Affairs; and therefore how ridiculous would it be to send to the Attorney-General for his Opinion in such a Case, who can be a competent Judge of nothing but the Legality of it, and whether the Affair be actionable or not; but Ministers ought to regulate their Conduct, in these Respects, according to the Situation of Affairs, and the Exigencies of Government.

I MUST therefore beg Leave to consider the present Subject, of the *Irish* Forces, in this Light.

It will not be denied, I presume, that a Licence to recruit Roman-Catholick Regiments of *English* Subjects, in foreign Service, and in the Interest of a Pretender to the Crown, (which is Death by the Law, without his Majesty's Permission) is a Favour of a very extraordinary Nature, and ought to be attended with some extraordinary Circumstances. I confess that I can see no such extraordinary Circumstances at present; unless it should be said that this Favour was granted, in order to engage our good Allies in the Demolition of *Dunkirk*;

kirk; but I hope they have more Generosity than to insist upon such hard Terms for the effectual Performance of that, which they are obliged by Treaty to do. I am sure, such Conditions seem unreasonable on our Part, after we have made them so many other Concessions; particularly with relation to the Flag and *Santa Lucia*; which, I think, are sufficient to make them comply with all our Demands, without expecting any farther Favours, and even Super-erogations of Friendship.

PERHAPS my Adversaries (if they have any Conceit) may take an Opportunity of ridiculing me for writing in this Strain; but as it sometimes serveth their Turn to make me a great Man, and to argue against me as such, I will for once suppose myself so; and, methinks, if I had the Honour of being but half an Hour in that Station, I could reason against such an Order, for the Good of my King and my Country, in the following Manner:

1. These Troops have always been made use of, whenever there hath been any Attempt in Favour of the Pretender; and indeed they are, upon many Accounts, the fittest for this Purpose. They are our Fellow-Subjects; they speak

ſpeak our Language ; are acquainted with our Manners ; and do not raiſe that Averſion in the People, which they naturally conceive againſt other foreign Troops, who underſtand neither. I am afraid I may add, that they are kept up, for this Purpoſe, in entire Regiments, without ſuffering them to be mixed with the Troops of any other Nation. It is well known, at leaſt, that they ſupplied the late King *James* with a Nurſery of Soldiers, who were always ready for his Service, whenever any Opportunity offered itſelf for his Reſtoration ; and that, at this Time, the Pretender is always the Bait made uſe of by their Officers to raiſe Recruits. They never mention the King of *France*, or the King of *Spain*, upon theſe Occaſions ; but liſt the poor Wretches under an Assurance, that they are entered into the Service of him, whom they call their natural and rightful King. I will not ſuſpect the preſent Fidelity of *France*, and their Cordiality to the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment ; yet methinks we might eaſily excuſe ourſelves from furniſhing them with Inſtruments, which they may employ againſt us, whenever Ambition, or Reaſon of State, ſhall diſſolve their preſent Engagements, and induce them to eſpouſe the Cauſe of the Pretender again.

2. IT is very probable that his Catholick Majesty (who hath likewise several Regiments of this Kind in his Service) will expect the same Favour of recruiting them in *Ireland*; and that he may, in case of Refusal, make it a Pretence, at any Time, for quarrelling with us, interrupting our Commerce, and disturbing us again in the Possession of *Gibraltar*; and here it is proper just to take Notice, that these Troops did his Catholick Majesty the most eminent Service in the last Siege of that important Place. He may complain, perhaps, of our Partiality to *France*, and alledge, that we do not treat *Spain* in the same Manner we expect to be treated by them, as one of the most favoured Nations.

3. THE Kingdom of *Ireland* seemeth, at this Time, in a very ill Condition to admit of any such Draughts out of her Dominions. She hath been already so much exhausted by the voluntary Transportation of Multitudes of her Inhabitants, (who have been prevailed upon, by the Calamities of their own Country, to seek their Bread in other Parts of the World) that the Interposition of Parliament was found necessary to put a Stop to it; and shall we suffer any foreign Power to drain her still farther under

under such Circumstances; especially in this Manner, and for this Purpose? I do not hear that this Licence is confined to any particular Number of Men. It is confessed, I think, that they want above two thousand Men to compleat their Corps; and who knoweth but they may design to raise a great many more than they care to own; or even to form some new Regiments of these Troops? But supposing they are confined to a certain Number of Recruits, and that *Ireland* were in a Capacity to spare them; it is well known how easily such Limitations are evaded, and how difficult it is to know when People conform exactly to the Terms of their Commission. This was sufficiently explained in the late famous Controversy, concerning Mr. *Wood's* Patent for supplying *Ireland* with a particular Sum of Copper Halfpence; and the Arguments upon that Subject may be applied to this, with some Allowances for the Difference between the two Cases. It may, perhaps, be said likewise, that all the Vigilance of the Ministry hath been hitherto found ineffectual to prevent the *French* from clandestinely recruiting these Regiments with *Irish* Catholics; and, therefore, that we may as well allow them to do it openly; nay, that it is our Interest to let them purge *Ireland* of her Popish Inhabitants as much as they please;

please ; but I deny this for several Reasons, which I shall mention presently ; and if it were really the Case, that the *French* can at any Time recruit these Troops clandestinely, I cannot see any Reason why they should solicit an Order so pressingly, for two Years together, to do it openly, unless they have some other Design. Ought not even this Consideration to put us a little upon our Guard ; and is it not a tacit Confession, that these Troops are thought to be of more Importance to them than we ought to wish ? Besides, are we to licence and authorise a mischievous Practice, because we cannot totally prevent it ? Everyone justly applauded his Majesty's singular Firmness and Resolution in supporting the Rights of his *German* Subjects, when an Attempt was made to seduce some of them into the King of *Prussia's* Service, although perhaps it is impossible to prevent that Practice entirely. We all remember that the inlisting a Miller's Son, and a few other ordinary Peasants, occasioned such a Misunderstanding between the two Crowns, as proceeded almost to a Rupture. Nor was the Zeal of the *English* Parliament backward on this Occasion ; but, on this Consideration, amongst others, resolved to keep up a Body of 12,000 *Hessian* Troops in our Pay, which have already cost us above a Million of Money. I am confident,

fidest, therefore, that the same paternal Care will always influence his Majesty to guard and protect his *British* Subjects in the same Manner; and if any Measure should be taken, which favours too much of the *French* Interest, and seemeth of dangerous Consequence to the Interest of his Family, the World can impute it to nothing but the deceitful Representations of those, who lie under such particular Obligations to the Court of *France*, that they can refuse them nothing.

4. SUCH a Licence seemeth to give Encouragement to the People of *Ireland* to continue Roman-Catholicks; since they are sure to meet with a Provision both in the *French* and *Spanish* Service; whereas we always reject them in our Troops, and absolutely prohibit our Officers to recruit in *Ireland*. Now, although it may not be safe to trust them in our Armies; yet certainly we ought not to give the least Encouragement to their entering into foreign Service; especially into such compact Bodies as these Regiments: And here it will not be amiss to relate a Story much to the Honour of an *English* Nobleman, who hath also one of the largest Estates in *Ireland* of any Man in the Kingdom. When he went to visit the Invalids in *France*, a Place in the Nature of our *Chelsea* College

College here, all the *Irish* Officers and Soldiers of that Hospital drew out in a Body to do him particular Honours. We can make no Question that their chief View was to have some Present from his Lordship; but though he hath an Heart as well disposed to generous Charity as any Man, and a Purse well able to answer the Dictates of it; yet out of Regard to his Country, for which he hath likewise the most disinterested Zeal, his Answer to them was only this: "Gentlemen, I am very sensible of
" the Honour you have done me, and heartily
" pity your Misfortunes; but as you have
" drawn them upon yourselves, by serving
" against your Country, you must not expect
" any Relief or Reward from me, for having
" suffered in a Service, in which I wish you
" had never engaged."

5. Is there not some Reason to apprehend that this Licence may, at one Time or other, prove a Snare to that Country, and draw many People into their Destruction; for, unless it is made perpetual, can it be supposed that all the poor ignorant Wretches in the Kingdom should be apprized how long this Licence is to be in Force; or when they may list with Impunity, and when they may not? Besides, as it may be presumed that these Officers will never go, for
the

the future, upon such Errands, without some pretended Orders, when the real one is expired; so they will find it no difficult Matter to impose such a Counterfeit upon illiterate People; who may thus incur the Penalties of the Law, without knowing any Thing of the Matter. Such a Method of providing for Persons, whose Principles render them unserviceable in our Army, is indeed a little more charitable than a late * Project for preventing *Irish* Children from being starved, by fattening them up, and selling them to the Butcher.

6. I HAVE often heard that these Troops have been made use of, in Parliament, as an Argument for keeping up a standing Army in *England*; and I think we need not take any Measures to render that Argument stronger. God knows, there are too many Arguments always ready upon such Occasions.

I MIGHT insist upon some other Points, which this Affair naturally suggesteth to a considering Mind; particularly the Danger of suffering several bigotted *Irish* Papists, in foreign Service, to disperse themselves into those Counties where they have the best Interest, and to stroll about *Ireland* amongst their Relations and old Acquaintance, of the same Principles with

* See Vol. IV. of the Author's Works.

with themselves. Are we sure that they will not make a bad Use of this Liberty, by enquiring into the Strength of their Party, by giving them Hopes, and taking an Opportunity to concert Measures for the Advantage of their Cause? Have we no Reason to apprehend that they may endeavour to raise Seamen as well as Soldiers, under Colour of this Order? Or engage great Numbers of their Countrymen to transport themselves over to the *French Colonies and Plantations in the West-Indies*, which are already grown formidable to the trading Interest of *Great Britain* in those Parts?

BUT whatever may be the Motives to such an extraordinary Favour, or the Consequences of it, I am sure it is the strongest Mark of our Confidence in *France*, and such an one as, I believe, they would not place in us, upon any Occasion. I will illustrate this by a parallel Case.

The *French* Protestants, who fled over hither from a Persecution on account of Religion, never discovered any Principles, which are incompatible with the Civil Government of *France*, nor ever set up any Pretender to the present Royal Family of that Kingdom; and yet, if we should think fit to form any considerable

able Number of them into compleat, distinct Regiments, to be composed of *French* Protestants only, and commanded by *French* Officers, without any Incorporation of *British* Soldiers; I fancy it would give our good Allies some Umbrage. But I am almost confident, that they would never permit us to send over a Protestant *French* Officer from every Regiment to recruit their respective Corps, by dispersing themselves into those Provinces where they have the best Interest; or suffer a Field Officer, in *English* Pay, to reside constantly in *Paris*, and exercise a Sort of martial Law in the Capital of their Dominions; I say they would hardly suffer this, even though our Ambassador should solicit such an Order, with the utmost Application, for twenty Years together.

AND yet the Case of these *Irish* Forces is much stronger with respect to us. They do not differ with us only in Matters of Religion; but hold Principles absolutely destructive of our Civil Government; and are generally looked upon Abroad as a Standing Army, kept on Foot to serve the Pretender upon any Occasion.

I MUST ask a Question or two, which naturally offer themselves in this Place.

WHAT Power is this Field Officer to exercise during his Residence in *Dublin*? Is the *French* martial Law to take Place, if any of these Recruits should happen to repent of what they have done, and think fit to desert?

TROOPS are generally armed as soon as they are lifted. Is this Rule to be observed in the present Case? If so, another Question occurreth. It hath been found necessary, for the Security of *Ireland*, to restrain all Roman Catholicks from wearing, or keeping any Arms in their Houses. I ask, therefore, whether the Authority of this Licence is to supersede the Laws of the Land? I may go farther.

THE Garrison of *Dublin* seldom consisteth of above 800 Men for the Duty of the Place. Supposing double that Number of Popish Recruits should be brought thither, in order to be viewed by their Field Officer, will it be said that there is no just Apprehension of Danger? But as these Suggestions may appear to be founded on the Infidelity of *France* (a Case not to be supposed at present) I will press them no farther.

I MUST however repeat it, that this Order is the fullest Demonstration of the Confidence we repose

repose in them ; and I hope they will scorn to make any bad Use of it : But if it were possible to suspect that they could have any Design to play the Knave with us, they could not wish for a better Opportunity to promote it, than by such a Power as is now said to be put into their Hands.

I HOPE my Remarks on this Article of News will not be construed in a *Jacobite* Sense, even by the most prostitute Scribblers of the present Times ; but I must beg Leave to expostulate a little with the Publick on that mean and infamous Practice, which these Writers have lately used, in explaining some of my Papers into treasonable Libels ; taking an Occasion from hence to appear formally in Defence of the Throne, and laying it down, as a Point granted, that there is an actual, concerted Design, of setting aside the present Establishment. This is a Practice which may be of great Service to the real Enemies of the present Government ; and every *Jacobite* in the Kingdom may make Use of it to publish the most explicit Invectives on the King and his Government, under the Pretence of interpreting the implicit Design of other Writings. It is a Practice, which was never allowed of till now, and ought never to be allowed ; for whatever

may be the secret Meaning of any Author, such Explanations are certainly Libels, which may have a very bad Effect upon weak Minds, and are punishable by the Laws, without any extraordinary Methods of Construction. These Writers ought to remember the Case of Sir *Richard Steele*, who published the Pretender's Declaration, at the Beginning of the late Reign, with an Answer annexed; and although he did it with a very good Design, yet it was universally allowed to be contrary to Law; and, if his Principles of Loyalty had not been very well known, might have involved him in a severe Prosecution. I shall make no Reflections on those, who encourage such scandalous Explanations; and those, who are hired to do it, are beneath my Notice, Let them empty all the trite Common-Places of servile, injudicious Flattery, and endeavour to make their Court by such nauseous, dishonest Adulation, as, I am sure, gives the most Offence to those Persons, to whom it is paid. Let them throw as much foul Dirt at me as they please. Let them charge me with Designs, which never entered into my Thoughts, and cannot justly be imputed to me from any Part of my Conduct. God knoweth my Heart, I am as zealous for the Welfare of the present Royal Family as the most sordid of these Sycophants. I am sensible,

fible, that our Happiness dependeth on the Security of his Majesty's Title, and the Preservation of the present Government, upon those Principles, which established them, at the late glorious Revolution; and which, I hope, will continue to actuate the Conduct of *Britons* to the latest Generations. These have always been my Principles; and whoever will give himself the Trouble of looking over the Course of these Papers, will be convinced that they have been my Guide: But I am a blunt, plain-dealing, old Man, who am not afraid to speak the Truth; and as I have no Relish for Flattery myself, I scorn to bestow it on others. I have not, however, been sparing of just Praise, nor slipt any seasonable Opportunity to distinguish the Royal Virtues of their present Majesties. More than this I cannot do; and more than this, I hope, will not be expected. Some of my Expressions, perhaps, may have been thought too rough and unpolished for the Climate of a Court; but they flowed purely from the Sincerity of my Heart; and the Freedom of my Writings hath proceeded from my Zeal for the Interest of my King and my Country.

WITH REGARD to my Adversaries, I will leave every impartial Reader to judge, whether, even in private Life, that Man is not most to be

be depended upon, who, being inwardly convinced of the great and good Qualities of his Friend, never loadeth him with fulsome Flatteries, but taketh the honest Liberty of warning him against the Measures of those who are endeavouring to mislead him. The Case is much stronger in publick Life; and a Crown is beset with so many Difficulties, that even a Prince of the most consummate Wisdom is not always sufficiently guarded against the Dangers, which surround him, from the Stratagems of artful Ministers, or the Blunders of weak ones. Both of them may be equally bad Ministers, and pursue the same Methods of supporting themselves, by flattering him into Measures which tend to his Destruction.

BUT it is Time to draw to a Conclusion; and I can only add, that if I were really engaged in any Design, contrary to the Interest of the present Establishment, I should have sat down contented, and secretly rejoiced at the Affair, which occasioned this Paper, instead of giving myself and the Reader so much Trouble.

C. D.

THE

Trade and Opulence, even beyond its present happy Condition.

THE profitable Land of this Kingdom is, I think, usually computed at Seventeen Millions of Acres, all which I propose to be wholly turned to Grazing. Now, it is found by Experience, that one Grazer and his Family can manage Two Thousand Acres. Thus, Sixteen Millions Eight Hundred Thousand Acres may be managed by Eight Thousand Four Hundred Families, and the Fraction of Two Hundred Thousand Acres will be more than sufficient for Cabbins, Out-Houses, and Potatoe-Gardens; because, it is to be understood, that Corn of all Sorts must be sent to us from *England*.

THESE Eight Thousand Four Hundred Families may be divided among the four Provinces, according to the Number of Houses in each Province; and, making the equal Allowance of Eight to a Family, the Number of Inhabitants will amount to Sixty Seven Thousand Two Hundred Souls; to these we are to add a Standing Army of Twenty Thousand *English*, which, together with their Trulls, their Bastards, and their Horse-Boys, will, by a gross Computation, very near double the Count, and be very sufficient for the Defence and Grazing of the Kingdom,

Kingdom, as well as to enrich our Neighbours, expel Popery, and keep out the Pretender. And lest the Army should be at a Loss for Business, I think it would be very prudent to employ them in collecting the publick Taxes for paying themselves and the Civil List.

I ADVISE, that all the Owners of these Lands should live constantly in *England*, in order to learn Politeness, and qualify themselves for Employments: But, for fear of increasing the Natives in this Island, that an annual Draught, according to the Number born every Year, be exported to whatever Prince will bear the Carriage; or transplanted to the *English* Dominions on the *American* Continent, as a Screen between his Majesty's *English* Subjects and the savage *Indians*.

I ADVISE likewise, that no Commodity whatsoever, of this Nation's Growth, should be sent to any other Country, except *England*, under the Penalty of high Treason; and that all the said Commodities shall be sent in their natural State, the Hides raw, the Wool uncombed, the Flax in the Stub; excepting only Fish, Butter, Tallow, and whatever else will be spoiled in the Carriage. On the contrary, that no Goods whatsoever shall be exported hither,

ther, except from *England*, under the same Penalty: That *England* should be forced, at their own Rates, to send us over Cloaths ready made, as well as Shirts and Smocks to the Soldiers and their Trulls; all Iron, Wooden, and Earthen Ware; and whatever Furniture may be necessary for the Cabbins of Graziers, with a sufficient Quantity of Gin, and other Spirits, for those who can afford to be drunk on Holydays.

As to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Administration, which I have not yet fully considered, I can say little; only with Regard to the latter, it is plain, that the Article of paying Tythe for supporting speculative Opinions in Religion, which is so insupportable a Burthen to all true Protestants, and to most Churchmen, will be very much lessened by this Expedient; because dry Cattle pay nothing to the spiritual Hiring, any more than imported Corn; so that the industrious Shepherd and Cow-herd may sit, every Man under his own Blackberry Bush, and on his own Potatoe-Bed, whereby this happy Island will become a new *Arcadia*.

I do likewise propose, that no Money shall be used in *Ireland*, except what is made of Leather, which likewise shall be coined in
England,

England, and imported; and that the Taxes shall be levied out of the Commodities we export to *England*, and there turned into Money for his Majesty's Use; and the Rents to Landlords discharged in the same Manner. This will be no Manner of Grievance; for we already see it very practicable to live without Money, and shall be more convinced of it every Day. But whether Paper shall still continue to supply that Defect, or whether we shall hang up all those who profess the Trade of Bankers, (which latter I am rather inclined to) must be left to the Consideration of wiser Politicians.

THAT which maketh me more zealously bent upon this Scheme, is my Desire of living in Amity with our neighbouring Brethren; for we have already tried all other Means, without Effect, to that blessed End: And, by the Course of Measures taken for some Years past, it should seem that we are all agreed in the Point.

THIS Expedient will be of great Advantage to both Kingdoms, upon several Accounts: For, as to *England*, they have a just Claim to the Balance of Trade on their Side with the whole World; and therefore our Ancestors and we, who conquered this Kingdom for them,

THE
ANSWER
TO THE
CRAFTSMAN,

SIR,

I DETEST reading your Papers, because I am not of your Principles, and because I cannot endure to be convinced. Yet, I was prevailed on to peruse your CRAFTSMAN of *December* the 12th, wherein I discover you to be as great an Enemy of this Country, as you are of your own. You are pleased to reflect on a Project I proposed of making the Children of *Irish* Parents to be useful to the Publick instead of being burthensome; and you venture to assert, that your own Scheme is more charitable, of not permitting our Popish Natives to be listed in the Service of any foreign Prince.

PERHAPS

PERHAPS, Sir, you may not have heard of any Kingdom so unhappy as this, both in their Imports and Exports. We import a Sort of Goods, of no intrinsic Value, which costeth us above Forty Thousand Pounds a Year to dress, and scour, and polish them, which altogether do not yield one Penny Advantage; and we annually export above Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year in another Kind of Goods, for which we receive not one single Farthing in Return: Even the Money paid for the Letters sent in transacting this Commerce being all returned to *England*. But, now when there is a most lucky Opportunity offered to begin a Trade, whereby this Nation will save many Thousand Pounds a Year, and *England* be a prodigious Gainer, you are pleased, without a Call, officiously and maliciously to interpose with very frivolous Arguments,

IT is well known, that, about Sixty Years ago, the Exportation of live Cattle from hence to *England* was of great Benefit to both Kingdoms, until that Branch of Traffick was stopt by an Act of Parliament on your Side, whereof you have had sufficient Reason to repent. Upon which Account, when another Act passed your Parliament, forbidding the Exportation of live Men to any foreign Country, you were so wise

wise to put in a Clause, allowing it to be done by his Majesty's Permissi^{on}, under his Sign Manual, for which, among other great Benefits granted to *Ireland*, we are infinitely obliged to the *British* Legislature. Yet this very Grace and Favour you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, whom we never disobliged, are endeavouring to prevent; which, I will take upon me to say, is a manifest Mark of your Disaffection to his Majesty, a Want of Duty to the Ministry, and a wicked Design of oppressing this Kingdom, and a traiterous Attempt to lessen the Trade and Manufacture of *England*.

OUR truest and best Ally the most Christian King hath obtained his Majesty's Licence, pursuant to Law, to export from hence some Thousand Bodies of healthy, young, living Men, to supply his *Irish* Regiments. The King of *Spain*, as you assert yourself, hath desired the same Civility, and seemeth to have at least as good a Claim; supposing then that these two Potentates will only desire Leave to carry off Six Thousand Men between them to *France* and *Spain*, then by computing the Maintenance of a tall, hungry, *Irish* Man, in Food and Cloaths, to be only at Five Pounds a Head, here will be Thirty Thousand Pounds *per Annum* saved clear to the Nation, for they
can

can find no other Employment at Home beside begging, robbing, or stealing. But, if Thirty, Forty, or Fifty Thousand, (which we could gladly spare) were sent on the same Errand, what an immense Benefit must it be to us; and, if the two Princes, in whose Service they were, should happen to be at War with each other, how soon would those Recruits be destroyed, then what a Number of Friends would the Pretender lose, and what a Number of Popish Enemies all true Protestants get rid of. Add to this, that then by such a Practice, the Lands of *Ireland* that want Hands for Tillage, must be employed in Grazing, which would sink the Price of Wool, raw Hides, Butter, and Tallow, so that the *English* might have them at their own Rates; and in Return send us Wheat to make our Bread, Barley to brew our Drink, and Oats for our Horses, without any Labour of our own.

UPON this Occasion, I desire humbly to offer a Scheme, which, in my Opinion, would best answer the true Interests of both Kingdoms: For, although I bear a most tender, filial Affection to *England*, my dear, native Country; yet, I cannot deny but this noble Island hath a great Share in my Love and Esteem, nor can I express how much I desire to see it flourish in
Trade

them, ought, in Duty and Gratitude, to let them have the whole Benefit of that Conquest to themselves; especially, when the Conquest was amicably made, without Bloodshed, by a Stipulation between the *Irish* Princes and *Henry II.* by which they paid him, indeed, not equal Homage with what the Electors of *Germany* do to the Emperor, but very near the same that he did to the King of *France* for his *French* Dominions.

IN Consequence of this Claim from *England*, that Kingdom may very reasonably demand the Benefit of all our Commodities in their natural Growth, to be manufactured by their People, and a sufficient Quantity of them for our Use to be returned hither fully manufactured.

THIS, on the other Side, will be of great Benefit to our Inhabitants the Graziers, when Time and Labour will be too much taken up in manuring their Ground, feeding their Cattle, sheering their Sheep, and sending over their Oxen fit for Slaughter; to which Employments they are turned by Nature, as descended from the *Scythians*, whose Diet they are still so fond of. So *Virgil* describeth it:

Et

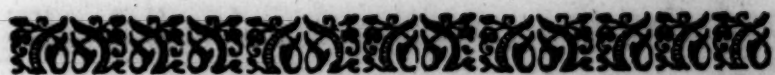
Et lac concretum cum sanguine bibit equino.

Which, in *English*, is Bonnyclabber, mingled with the Blood of Horses, as they formerly did, until about the Beginning of the last Century Luxury, under the Form of Politeness, began to creep in, they changed the Blood of Horses for that of their black Cattle; and, by Consequence, became less warlike than their Ancestors.

ALTHOUGH I proposed that the Army should be Collectors of the publick Revenues, yet I did not thereby intend that those Taxes should be paid in Gold or Silver; but in Kind, as all other Rent: For the Custom of Tenants making their Payments in Money, is anew Thing in the World little known in former Ages, nor generally practised in any Nation at present, except this Island, and the Southern Parts of *Britain*. But, to my great Satisfaction, I foresee better Times; the antient Manner beginneth to be now practised in many Parts of *Connaught*, as well as in the County of *Corke*, where the Squires turn Tenants to themselves, divide so many Cattle to their Slaves, who are to provide such a Quantity of Butter, Hides, or Tallow, still keeping up their Number of Cattle; and

and carry the Goods to *Corke*, or other Port-Towns, and then sell them to the Merchants. By which Invention there is no such Thing as a ruined Farmer to be seen ; but the People live with Comfort on Potatoes and Bonny-clabber, neither of which are vendible Commodities Abroad.

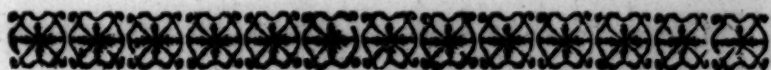




A
TREATISE
ON
GOOD-MANNERS
AND
GOOD-BREEDING.

AND,

VERSES *to a Friend who had
been much abused in many inveterate*
LIBELS.



THE

A

TREASTISE

ON

GOOD-MANNERS

AND

GOOD-BREEDING.

AND

VERSES to a Friend who had

been much abused in many quarters

LIBEL.

THE

The following have been printed, but
not in the Author's Works, and
may therefore be acceptable in this
Volume.

O N

GOOD-MANNERS

A N D

GOOD-BREEDING.

GOOD-Manners is the Art of making
those People easy with whom we con-
verse.

WHOEVER makes the fewest Persons uneasy
is the best bred in the Company.

As the best Law is founded upon Reason, so
are the best Manners. And as some Lawyers
have introduced unreasonable Things into com-
mon Law ; so likewise many Teachers have in-
troduced absurd Things into common Good-
manners.

ONE

ONE principal Point of this Art is to suit our Behaviour to the three several Degrees of Men; our Superiors, our Equals, and those below us.

FOR Instance, to press either of the two former to eat or drink is a Breach of Manners; but a Tradesman or a Farmer must be thus treated, or else it will be difficult to persuade them that they are welcome.

PRIDE, Ill-nature, and want of Sense, are the three great Sources of Ill-manners; without some one of these Defects, no Man will behave himself ill for want of Experience; or of what, in the Language of Fools, is called, knowing the World.

I defy any one to assign an Incident wherein Reason will not direct us what we are to say or do in Company, if we are not misled by Pride, or Ill-nature.

THEREFORE I insist that Good Sense is the principal Foundation of Good-manners: But because the former is a Gift which very few among Mankind are possessed of, therefore all the civilized Nations of the World have agreed upon fixing some Rules for common Behaviour, best suited to their general Customs, or Fancies,

cies, as a kind of artificial Good-Sense to supply the Defects of Reason. Without which, the *Gentlemenly* Part of Dunces would be perpetually at Cuffs, as they seldom fail when they happen to be drunk, or engaged in Squabbles about Women, or Play. And God be thanked, there hardly happeneth a Duel in a Year, which may not be imputed to one of those three Motives. Upon which Account, I should be exceedingly sorry to find the Legislature make any new Laws against the Practice of Duelling; because the Methods are easy, and many, for a wise Man to avoid a Quarrel with Honour, or engage in it with Innocence. And I can discover no political Evil in suffering Bullies, Sharpers, and Rakes, to rid the World of each other by a Method of their own, where the Law hath not been able to find an Expedient.

As the common Forms of Good-manners were intended for regulating the Conduct of those who have weak Understandings; so they have been corrupted by the Persons for whose Use they were contrived. For these People have fallen into a needless and endless Way of multiplying Ceremonies, which have been extremely troublesome to those who practise them, and insupportable to every Body else: Insomuch, that wise Men are often more uneasy at the
over

over Civility of these Refiners, than they could possibly be in the Conversations of Peasants, or Mechanicks.

THE Impertinencies of this ceremonial Behaviour are no where better seen than at those Tables, where Ladies preside; who value themselves upon account of their Good-breeding; where a Man must reckon upon passing an Hour without doing any one Thing he hath a Mind to; unless he will be so hardy as to break through all the settled Decorum of the Family. She determineth what he loveth best; and how much he shall eat; and if the Master of the House happeneth to be of the same Disposition, he proceedeth in the same tyrannical Manner to prescribe in the drinking Part: At the same Time, you are under the Necessity of answering a thousand Apologies for your Entertainment. And, although a good deal of this Humour is pretty well worn off among many People of the best Fashion, yet too much of it still remaineth, especially in the Country; where an honest Gentleman assured me, that having been kept four Days, against his Will, at a Friend's House, with all the Circumstances of hiding his Boots, locking up the Stable, and other Contrivances of the like Nature; he could not remember from the Moment he came into the House,

House, to the Moment he left it, any one Thing, wherein his Inclination was not directly contradicted; as if the whole Family had entered into a Combination to torment him.

BUT, besides all this, it would be endless to recount the many foolish and ridiculous Accidents I have observed among these unfortunate Profelytes to Ceremony. I have seen a Duchess fairly knocked down by the Precipitancy of an officious Coxcomb, running to save her the Trouble of opening a Door. I remember, upon a Birth-day, at Court, a great Lady was utterly disconsolate by a Dish of Sauce let fall by a Page directly upon her Head-dress, and Brocade; while she gave a sudden Turn to her Elbow upon some Point of Ceremony with the Person who sat next her. Monsieur *Buys*, the *Dutch* Envoy, whose Politicks and Manners were much of a Size, brought a Son with him, about thirteen Years old, to a great Table at Court. The Boy, and his Father, whatever they put on their Plates, they first offered round in order, to every Person in the Company; so that we could not get a Minute's quiet during the whole Dinner. At last, their two Plates happened to encounter, and with so much Violence, that being China, they broke in twenty Pieces;

Pieces; and stained half the Company with wet Sweet-meats and Cream.

THERE is a pedantry in Manners, as in all Arts and Sciences; and sometimes in Trades. Pedantry is properly the over-rating any kind of Knowledge we pretend to. And, if that kind of Knowledge be a Trifle in itself, the Pedantry is the greater. For which Reason, I look upon Fiddlers, Dancing-masters, Heralds, Masters of the Ceremony, &c. to be greater Pedants, than *Lipsius*, or the elder *Scaliger*. With these kind of Pedants, the Court, while I knew it, was always plentifully stocked: I mean from the Gentleman-Usher (at least) inclusive, downward to the Gentleman-Porter; who are, generally speaking, the most insignificant Race of People that this Island can afford, and with the smallest Tincture of Good-manners; which is the only Trade they profess. For being wholly illiterate, and conversing chiefly with each other, they reduce the whole System of Breeding within the Forms and Circles of their several Offices: And, as they are below the Notice of Ministers, they live and die in Court under all Revolutions, with great Obsequiousness to those who are in any Degree of Credit or Favour, and with Rudeness or Insolence to every Body else. From whence I have long concluded,

cluded, that Good-manners are not a Plant of the Court Growth: For, if they were, those People who have Understandings directly of a Level for such Acquirements, and who have served such long Apprenticeships to nothing else, would certainly have picked them up. For, as to the great Officers who attend the Prince's Person or Councils, or preside in his Family, they are a transient Body, who have no better a Title to Good-Manners, than their Neighbours, nor will probably have Recourse to Gentlemen-Ushers for Instruction. So, that I know little to be learned at Court upon this Head, except in the material Circumstance of Dress; wherein the Authority of the Maids of Honour must indeed be allowed to be almost equal to that of a favourite Actress.

I remember a Passage my Lord *Bolingbroke* told me, that going to receive Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* at his landing, in order to conduct him immediately to the Queen, the Prince said, he was much concerned that he could not see Her Majesty that Night; for Monsieur *Hoffman* (who was then by) had assured his Highness that he could not be admitted into her Presence with a tied-up Periwig: That his Equipage was not arrived, and that he had endeavoured in vain to borrow a long one among all his Valets and Pages.

ges. My Lord turned the Matter to a Jest, and brought the Prince to her Majesty; for which he was highly censured by the whole Tribe of Gentlemen-Ushers; among whom Monsieur *Hoffman*, an old dull Resident of the Emperor's, had picked up this material Point of Ceremony; and which, I believe, was the best Lesson he had learned in five and twenty Years Residence.

I make a Difference between Good-manners and Good-breeding; although, in order to vary my Expression, I am sometimes forced to confound them. By the first, I only understand the Art of Remembering, and applying certain settled Forms of general Behaviour. But Good-breeding is of a much larger Extent; for besides an uncommon Degree of Literature sufficient to qualify a Gentleman for reading a Play, or a political Pamphlet, it taketh in a great Compass of Knowledge; no less than that of Dancing, Fighting, Gaming, making the Circle of *Italy*, riding the Great Horse, and speaking *French*; not to mention some other secondary, or subaltern Accomplishments, which are more easily acquired: So, that the Difference between Good-breeding and Good-manners, lieth in this; that the former cannot be attained to by the best Understandings, without Study and Labour: Whereas a tolerable Degree of Reason
will

will instruct us in every Part of Good-manners, without other Assistance,

I can think of nothing more useful upon this Subject, than to point out some Particulars, wherein the very Essentials of Good-manners are concern'd, the neglect or perverting of which, doth very much disturb the good Commerce of the World, by introducing a Traffic of mutual Uneasiness in most Companies.

FIRST, a necessary Part of Good-manners, is a punctual Observance of Time at our own Dwellings, or those of others, or at third Places; whether upon Matter of Civility, Business, or Diversion; which Rule, tho' it be a plain Dictate of Common Reason, yet the greatest * Minister I ever knew, was the greatest Trespasser against it; by which all his Business doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual Arrear. Upon which I often used to rally him, as deficient in Point of Good-manners, I have known more than one Ambassador, and Secretary of State, with a very moderate Portion of Intellectuals, execute their Offices with good Success and Applause by the mere Force of Exactness and Regularity. If you duly observe

* Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer to Queen Anne.

serve Time for the Service of another, it doubles the Obligation; if upon your own Account, it would be manifest Folly, as well as Ingratitude, to neglect it. If both are concerned, to make your Equal or Inferior attend on you, to his own Disadvantage, is Pride and Injustice.

IGNORANCE of Forms cannot properly be styled Ill-manners; because Forms are subject to frequent Changes; and consequently, being not founded upon Reason, are beneath a wise Man's Regard. Besides, they vary in every Country; and, after a short Period of Time, very frequently in the same: So, that a Man, who travelleth, must needs be at first a Stranger to them in every Court through which he passeth; and, perhaps, at his Return as much a Stranger in his own; and after all, they are easier to be remembered, or forgotten, than Faces, or Names.

INDEED among the many Impertinencies that superficial young Men bring with them from Abroad, this Bigotry of Forms is one of the principal, and more predominant than the rest. Who look upon them, not only, as if they were Matters capable of admitting of Choice, but even as Points of Importance; and therefore zealous upon all Occasions to introduce, and

and propagate the new Forms and Fashions they have brought back with them : So, that usually speaking, the worst bred Person in the Company is a young Traveller just returned from Abroad.



F I W I S

Or Good-Manners
and moderate the new Terms and Fashions
usually speaking, the worst bred Person in the
Company is a young Traveller just returned
from abroad.

*To a Friend who had been much abused in many
inveterate Libels.*

THE greatest Monarch may be stabb'd by
Night,
And Fortune help the Murd'rer in his Flight ;
The vilest Ruffian may commit a Rape,
Yet safe from injured Innocence escape ;
And Calumny, by working under Ground,
Can, unreveng'd, the greatest Merit wound.

WHAT's to be done? shall Wit and Learn-
ing chuse,
To live obscure, and have no Fame to lose?
By Censure frighted out of Honour's Road,
Nor dare to use the Gifts by Heav'n bestow'd;
Or fearless enter in thro' Virtue's Gate,
And buy Distinction at the dearest Rate,



F I N I S.

OT

